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SYNTAX

OF

THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

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OF

THE HEBREW LANGUAGE

OF

THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY HEINRICH EWALD.

Translated from the Eighth German Edition

BY

JAMES KENNEDY, B.D.

EDINBURGH:
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1891.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

MORE than one attempt has already been made to lay before the English reader the earlier labours of Ewald in the field of Hebrew Grammar. A complete translation, by Nicholson, of an early edition, was published at London in 1836; but so many changes were made in subsequent editions of the original, both as regards arrangement and extent, that it is long since out of date. A translation of the third edition of Ewald's *Introductory Hebrew Grammar* was subsequently made by J. F. Smith, and published at London in 1870; but, though the arrangement of the work is substantially the same as is found in the later editions of the larger grammar, the whole is much too brief to prove satisfactory.

The following work is a translation of the third part ot Ewald's *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache des alten Bundes* (Göttingen 1870). There is all the less need for rendering the whole treatise into English because the first two parts deal mainly with grammatical forms, a very full knowledge of which may be obtained from the latest editions of Gesenius (by Davies, London), from the work of W. H. Green (New York), and, more in Ewald's peculiar line, from the smaller, but excellent introductory grammar of Dr. A. B. Davidson (Edinburgh): to these works, for the sake of convenience, occasional reference has been made. But, indeed, even the labours of Ewald in that department have, in some respects, been surpassed by the colossal work of Böttcher (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, Leipzig 1866–68).

The pagination of the original is indicated by the bold figures embodied in the text (thus, [**734**]). A few references have been made to special treatises on Hebrew Syntax that have recently appeared.

The translator has to record his thanks for assistance kindly and freely rendered by Mr. David Patrick, M.A., and especially by the Rev. Dr. A. B. Davidson, who has done so much to stimulate and encourage him, as so many others, in the study of the Old Testament Scriptures.

EDINBURGH, *December* 1878.

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EWALD'S HEBREW SYNTAX.

THE VERB-STEMS VIEWED WITH REGARD TO THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO TENSES.[1]

The Meaning of the Two Tenses.

[348] 134*a*. SINCE the verb signifies effective action and the occurrence of events, while the latter, as passing on, cannot but lead to the idea of time, distinction of tenses belongs to the earliest stage in the formation of the verb; and every one of the verb-stems [viz. Qal, Niphal, etc.] must *equally* be subject to the distinction. But the simplest distinction of time in an action is, that the speaker first of all merely separates between the two grand and opposite aspects under which every conceivable action may be regarded. Man has first acted, passed through an experience, and sees before him something that is finished, or has taken place; but this very fact reminds him of that which does not yet exist,—that which lies behind, and is expected. The former, or positive side, is that of experience, objective contemplation of action; the latter, or negative side, is the higher, subjective side of individual human thought and inference. Hence, with reference to action, the speaker views everything either as already *finished*, and thus *before* him, or as *unfinished* and non-existent, but possibly *becoming* [Ger. *werdend*, Gr. *γιγνόμενον*] and *coming:*

[1] [It has been deemed advisable to present, first, Ewald's account of these verb-forms, since much of it really and properly, though not according to the formal arrangement which he has actually made, belongs to the department of Syntax. For a very full and able discussion of this subject, see Driver's treatise, *On the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* (Oxford 1874).]

he states it as something that is, or denies that there already is such a thing. There is here, as yet, nothing whatever of the three tenses precisely distinguished in later languages as past, present, and future. In fact, however, no language, when it introduces distinctions, can start from anything threefold;[1] antithesis is almost always merely simple and thoroughgoing, because elicited by its [counter] thesis: first, statement (thesis), then its counter-statement (antithesis). Thus, both in thought and language, every distinction is at first drawn between no more than two things. Just as, in the sphere of personality, there is, first of all, distinction made merely between *I* and *thou*, and these two are only afterwards distinguished from the absolutely remote *he* (see § 105*e*); as, secondly, in the case of all existent things, there is, first of all, distinction made only between the animate and the inanimate, and then, in the former class, between the masculine and the feminine (see § 171): so, in the primitive languages, the distinction of tenses has by no means originated with our three tenses, or with the present as one of these three. Now, the Hebrew has remained substantially upon the ancient basis of this most simple distinction, and it is exactly in this respect that it is still very strongly distinguished from later Semitic languages; it is only to a limited extent [350] that the participle is employed as a specification of time, in addition to these two, which still continue to be the main divisions (see § 168).

b. These two ideas, viz. of what is complete and what is incomplete (or coming), sharply distinguished from the point of time at which the speaker takes his stand, lead, of course,

[1] I have always shown, orally, in my lectures on Sanskrit grammar, that, in the Indo-Germanic languages also, all the tenses and moods now employed, which have been so variously developed into their present condition, point back to no more than two distinctions of time, just as in Semitic. As regards the tenses, the same thing may be shown to hold in the Turkish, Coptic, and other languages. Thus, in Odschi (according to *Riis*, Basel 1853), there is first a *perfect* (formed by using *a*—; cf. § 231*b*), and, in direct contrast with this, a shorter *imperfect;* and, only afterwards, a more definite *future*, *present*, and *present future*. In many respects the Bornuese language also is very similar; see Kölle on the Kanuri language (London 1854), p. 226 ff.; see also the *Amer. Oriental Journal*, i. p. 370, cf. with p. 391.

to those of the purely *past* and *future;* as, לֹא הָיָה וְלֹא יִהְיֶה *it has not been, and will not be;* נִשְׁבַּע וְלֹא יִנָּחֵם *He has sworn, and will not repent.* But, as the primitive languages generally afford the freest scope to the imagination, and view everything in an exceedingly animated and emotional manner (see § 171), so also are these most natural distinctions of time far removed from the more cold intellectuality of our tense-specifications. Since, therefore, in virtue of the power and freedom accorded to the imagination, the ideas of completeness and incompleteness may also be used relatively, in such a way that the speaker, in whichever of the three simple divisions of time (past, present, or future) he may conceive of an action, can represent it either as complete, or as going on and coming; there arises, through this very fact, a manifold application of the two expressions for time which the language has at its command; and, on the ground of this most simple distinction of time, a multitude of finer distinctions and forms can be made. Such forms—which no longer have any meaning, and hence appear very strange, as soon as a language leaves this earliest foundation and distinguishes the three tenses—the Hebrew possesses as something peculiar to itself (see §§ 230–35). And, from what has been said, this much is already evident, that here it is really the connection of the whole discourse that must in each case determine the meaning of the one tense-form or the other. Since, as is already clear from what has just been stated, the names "Preterite" and "Future" are unsuitable, and have merely been derived from modern languages, we designate them *Perfect* and *Imperfect,*—understanding these names, however, not in the narrow sense attached to them in Latin grammar, but in a quite general way.[1]

135*a*. I. The *Perfect,*[2] accordingly, is used (1) of actions which the speaker, from his present, regards as actually finished, happened, past,—whether the act belongs to a particular period of the past, hence in narrative; as, *in the beginning*

[1] These names I employed first in 1839 in my *Gram. Arab.;* the idea presented by them I had already given in the [Hebrew] Grammar of 1828; and the names *I.* and *II. mod.*, which I used at first, were merely an imperfect attempt to find substitutes for the unsuitable names "Preterite" and "Future" (cf. further §§ 223–35).

[2] [See Driver on the Hebrew Tenses, chap. ii.]

בָּרָא *when God created the world,*—or simply applies to the past, with reference to the present of the speaker; as, מֶה עָשִׂיתָ *what hast thou done?* לֹא הָרַגְתִּי אִישׁ *I have not slain any one.* If such an action is stated with special reference to [351] something else that is past, as being already finished at that time, then this simple perfect, merely in virtue of its connection, or the mutual relation of the meaning in both actions, expresses our *pluperfect,* for which the Hebrew still possesses no external distinguishing mark whatever.[1] Such a perfect may either relate to a past which has been already mentioned; as, *God blessed the works which* עָשָׂה *He made* (but at that time they were obviously in existence already; hence the expression is equivalent to our *had made*), Gen. ii. 2, 3, and in many other combinations, Gen. viii. 13; Job xv. 7, 19; Ps. xl. 7*b;* or it may contain a preliminary allusion to a past to be mentioned in what follows; as, *from afar* שְׁמַעְתִּיךָ *I had heard Thee, but now mine eye hath seen Thee,* Job xlii. 5; Ps. xxx. 8, civ. 6 f., cxxxix. 16*c;* or, the past may be mentioned both before and after it, Gen. xxvii. 30; Job xxxii. 4 (cf. § 341). On the contrary, the perfect may equally well be used, with direct reference to something mentioned or regarded as *future,* to indicate what would *then* appear as a past (hence, our *future perfect*); as, *they shall suffer* עַד עֵת יוֹלֵדָה יָלָדָה *until the time when she shall have brought forth,* Mic. v. 2; Ps. lvi. 14, lix. 17; Isa. xvi. 12 (נִרְאָה); 1 Chron. xiv. 15, cf. with 2 Sam. v. 24, where אָז *then,* stands beside the verb, with greater perspicuity.

b. (2.) It is used of actions which the speaker, indeed, regards as already finished, but yet in such a way as to reach quite to the present,—in which case modern languages put the simple present. This, accordingly, applies especially to unimpassioned states of mind and body, which are looked on as actually existent;[2] as, יָדַעְתִּי *οἶδα, novi,* זָכַרְתִּי *memini,*[3] Num. xi. 5; חָסִיתִי *I trust,* הוֹחִיל *he hopes,* Ps. xxxviii. 16; שָׂנֵא *odit,*[3]

[1] The Arabic, however, and the Aramaic, can form it. But here, too, the Ethiopic, in many cases, still resembles the Hebrew.

[2] [Hence Böttcher (*Ausführ. Lehrbuch,* § 948) has very properly designated these *stative verbs.*]

[3] These, accordingly, are some remains of what was originally a similar usage in the Indo-Germanic languages, just like πεφόβημαι and δέδοικα; but the same thing presents itself in many other languages also.

מֵאֵן *he refuses,* Ex. x. 3, xvi. 28; אָהֵב *he loves,* מָאַס *he despises,* תִּעֵב *he abhors,* Job vii. 16, xix. 20; שָׂמַחְתִּי *I rejoice,* Ps. cxxii. 1; קָטֹנְתִּי מִן *I am too little for . . .,* Gen. xxxii. 11. It is also used for actions which, at the moment of speaking, are really regarded as already past, though they may nevertheless still continue; thus, אָמַרְתִּי *I say, mean,* יָעַצְתִּי *I advise,* Amos v. 14; 2 Sam. xvii. 11; Eccles. vi. 3, viii. 14; Job xxxiii. 3; Ps. xxxviii. 8 f., xxxix. 4, lxxxviii. 10, 14, cxviii. 26, cxxix. 8; Prov. iv. 11, xxii. 19 f., and in lengthy descriptions, Jer. xiv. 1–6, Zeph. iii. 6 f., 1 Sam. ii. 1, in which case, certainly, the *imperfect* also readily intrudes itself (see § 136*b*). This perfect may thus frequently be expressed by our *present,* with the addition of *already,* as in Cant. ii. 12 f., vii. 13 f. Or, general truths, which are plainly taught, and already fully established by experience, are described in the perfect; [352] as, *the wicked man* נִאֵץ *despises God;* and frequently in comparisons and proverbs, Ps. x. 3, 13, lxxxiv. 4, xxxiii. 13 f.; Prov. xi. 2, 8, xxii. 12 f.; 1 Sam. ii. 3–5. The perfect is also used in two closely consecutive propositions, the former of which puts the matter more as a condition, Ps. xxxix. 12. The perfect has also a special liking for being joined in this way with לֹא *not,* almost exclusively, however, at the beginning, and quite independently in the proposition, as Ps. xxiv. 4, xv. 3–5.

c. (3.) It is used of actions, which, though really neither past nor present, are, through the inclination or lively fancy of the speaker, regarded as being already as good as finished; these are, accordingly, stated as if they were quite unconditional and certain. Modern languages, at least, in such cases, employ the more energetic and definite present instead of the future. Thus, the construction is adopted when any one briefly states what he intends to do, as his settled determination; hence it is especially frequent in utterances of God, whose will is equivalent to His deed: נָתַתִּי לְךָ *I give to thee,* בֵּרַכְתִּיו *I bless him,* Gen. xv. 18, xvii. 20; and in the language of contracts, buying and selling, Gen. xxiii. 11, 13; Ruth iv. 3; cf. ver. 5. (Cf. also § 223*b*.) Moreover, the fancy of the poet and prophet frequently views the future as already clearly before him, and experienced; this, however, is not, for the most part, the case in unimpassioned description, but it is more common

in more brief and rapid utterances; as, *it will dry up,* נִדַּף *it is blown away, and is no more!* Isa. xix. 7, xliii. 3; Jer. xxxi. 5; Ps. xx. 7, lxxxv. 11, cxvi. 16; Lam. iv. 22. In this case, though הִנֵּה *behold,* is readily prefixed, to indicate the future (as in 1 Kings iii. 12 *twice*), the perfect must always occupy a position of emphatic prominence at the beginning of the proposition, or show, by the clearest self-evidence arising from the meaning of the whole proposition, that its realization is possible only in the future, as in Isa. lx. 1.[1] Sometimes, however, a mental picture is also represented more fully, in quite unimpassioned discourse, as it hovered before the eye of the writer while in the ecstatic state, just as if it had been actually experienced and were quite certain; but, in that case, such singularly unimpassioned discourse not merely must be easily distinguishable from the whole connection of the statement, but also always readily resolves itself once more into the ordinary style, as Ps. l. 1–6, xxxvi. 13, lxiv. 8–10, cx. 5f.; Isa. viii. 23 on till ix. 3, 5.

In ordinary discourse, there are at least two cases in which this perfect of mere representation or fancy is constantly used, viz. in conditional propositions (regarding which, see further § 355), and when it is combined with the Vav [353] of sequence, in order to constitute the peculiar essence of the *consecutive perfect.* (Since this latter formation, however, is now far from being a simple one, it cannot be further discussed till a later stage; see § 234.) But the language comes more and more to look upon all these manifold kinds of the perfect of volition and fancy (to give it this brief designation) as something extraordinary, more momentary than permanent; on this, see further § 350.

d. Again, what is predicated simply of the past, may also, from the meaning of the discourse (*e.g.* in a simple proposition, through the influence of a particle), be regarded merely as the statement of a possibility; as, כִּמְעַט כִּלּוּנִי *they almost killed me* (but, as is self-evident, did not do so); hence the expression is

[1] This use of the perfect, accordingly, is not the same as that which is found in Isa. lv. 4, where, therefore, it is wrong to understand it as referring to the future. The extent to which this is imitated by the Septuagint and Hellenistic writers, and may even be adopted among them (see Thilo, on *Jac. Protev.* c. 2), is another question.

equivalent to our: *they would have killed me,* Ps. cxix. 87; Gen. xxvi. 10; cf. § 358*a*. Thus, there are contained in the perfect a multitude of special references and meanings, which might give occasion to the rise of as many new forms; but this Hebrew perfect still remains in a quite rigid and simple state.

136*a*. II. The *Imperfect*[1] describes that which is incomplete, whether this be what does not yet exist, or what is going on, merely progressing towards completion; hence it may also, on the other hand, indicate what merely is to take place, *i.e.* what, according to the speaker's way of thinking, is merely dependent on something else. This includes two meanings, which, both in conception and expression, may be very widely different from one another, without, however, completely removing all trace of their common origin. What I state absolutely as incomplete, remains a mere predication regarding a time, hence, a mere time-form (*tense*); what, on the other hand, I state as merely dependent on something else, is set forth as in a particular *kind* of being, which hence becomes more a *mood* than a *tense* (to use Latin terminology).

This is not yet the place, however, to discuss the kind of being in its whole extent, since it brings new and finer distinctions into consideration (see §§ 223–35). We here confine ourselves, therefore, to the explanation of the imperfect, so far as it makes an absolute distinction of time. Now, it is very evident that the idea of incompleteness in the imperfect may at once further subdivide into two particular ideas. What is incomplete is either viewed as *becoming* [*i.e.* progressing or advancing], as just arising and continuing, but not yet gone by; or, as absolutely *future*,—not yet existing at all; hence, in accordance with the genius of our [modern] languages, as *present*, or as *future*.

b. (1.) The imperfect states what is merely *becoming* [or advancing towards completion, *i.e.* coming to pass], arising; or it represents the action as *present*. Looked at more exactly, however, this admits of being regarded in a twofold manner; the incomplete action is set forth either as incipient, or as continuing in this incipiency. Hence, the imperfect indicates—

[1] [On this whole section, see also Driver on the Tenses in Hebrew, chap. iii. (*The Imperfect alone.*)]

(*a.*) An action which, at the present moment, is not yet completed, but is beginning, and is being carried on with a view to completion, or which happens in the present; as, תֵּצְאוּ *ye are marching out*, 1 Sam. xvii. 8. Thus, [354] the *perfect* (see § 135*b*) is sometimes used interchangeably with the *imperfect* for our present, according as the thing is depicted as just completed, or rather, as still going on and scarcely completed; as, מֵאַיִן בָּאתָ, Gen. xvi. 8, xlii. 7, and מֵאַיִן תָּבֹא *whence comest thou?* which latter is the more frequent construction, Josh. ix. 8; Judg. xvii. 9, xix. 17; 2 Sam. i. 3; Jonah i. 8; Job i. 7, ii. 2; cf. Isa. xxxix. 3.[1] Similarly, the two expressions may also be interchanged, merely for the sake of variety, in poetic parallelism, Prov. xi. 7, xiv. 18, and in negative propositions, Isa. v. 12. The distinction between the two is often very slight; because that which occurs in the present may easily be viewed as already complete, and thus as *existent*, by a language which does not yet possess any settled form for the present, strictly so called; in actual practice, however, this application of the perfect becomes more rare.

But the imperfect may also, with equal propriety, indicate what was *becoming realized in the past* (praesens praeteriti); for, in the case of a thing that is to be viewed as having *simply* occurred, and gone by, prominence may be assigned, in animated description, to the one side of its occurrence,—the moment when it actually happens. This is done when the speaker, fancying that he is lingering within the sphere of a definite past, looks down on what was *then being realized*, and thus transports the hearer directly into the time when the thing was taking place. The poets especially can do this with great facility; as, *the day* אִוָּלֶד *in which I was to be born* (L. nascendus eram); *why* לֹא אָמוּת *did I not die from the womb* (*i.e.* just when I had been born)? Job iii. 3, 11, xv. 7; Ps. cxxxix. 16. In prose, this usage, though not entirely absent, is nevertheless confined to certain definite cases and combinations; *e.g.* to the construction with טֶרֶם *before* (see § 337*c*), that with אָז *then;* as, אָז יָשִׁיר *then sang* . . ., Ex. xv. 1; Josh. viii. 30; 1 Kings xvi. 21; 2 Kings xv. 16; Job xxxviii. 24; Ps. cxxvi. 2,—especially, however, to the constant case of *Vav consecutive*, explained in § 231.

[1] Cf. a similar usage, *e.g.* in Vei: Kölle, *Vei Grammar*, pp. 100, 118.

Since, now, this use of the imperfect, in the greater portion of the language, is more confined to particular combinations, and accordingly seems further to be, even in its form, rather a special kind of tense (*modus temporis*) than a simple indication of time (see § 231), we must distinguish from this the case in which a past action is, exceptionally, and merely from the desire of producing a more graphic representation, so put in the imperfect that we also may use the present instead. This construction is almost exclusively poetical, and hardly once occurs in prose, even in animated conversation, as 1 Kings xxi. 6. Further, it is only possible either because the speaker is thinking more of the mere thing itself than of the time of the action; thus, at the beginning of the discourse; as, *out of Aram* יַנְחֵנִי *he brings me*, Num. xxiii. 7; Job x. 10 f.; Hab. iii. 3; Ps. lxxx. 9; 1 Kings xxi. 6; or, it is used in protases and apodoses, or even in interjected, parenthetical propositions, [355] for the purpose of bringing the events more closely together in rapid succession, and to depict everything in the most vivid manner, as if it were present, Ex. xv. 12, 14–16; Ps. xviii. 7, civ. 6, 8, cvii. 26; Job iv. 15 f.; Ex. xv. 4 f. This construction, however, is also employed, with fine effect, in simple narrative, to indicate the *gradual* occurrence of the event, as Ezra ix. 4; or, the imperfect is used in giving more detailed explanation and description of what has already been mentioned, Neh. iii. 14 f.

c. (*b.*) It is implied in the meaning of many expressions, or in the relation subsisting between one action and another, that the imperfect may express the special idea of *duration*, *continuance*, or even (if the action be of such a character) *repetition;* because that which endures is also incomplete,—always occurs again and again for an indefinite period, Isa. lviii. 2, 3*b*. Even in the case of the *present*, when employed to express what is *usual*, or customary, the imperfect is preferred to the perfect for indicating this idea; as, יֵאָמֵר *dicitur, dicunt;* hence the form is particularly used in comparisons; as, כַּאֲשֶׁר יִשָּׂא אִישׁ *as one is wont to carry*, Deut. i. 31. The imperfect comes to be of special importance, however, inasmuch as it may, in accordance with the context, be equally transferred to the sphere of the past, in order to describe, in

subordinate propositions, or in some other way by a subordinate relative clause, a circumstance that continued while something else was going on, 2 Kings iii. 25; Jer. xiii. 7; or even to depict, in propositions of a more independent character, past habits and customs; as, יַעֲשֶׂה שָׁנָה בְשָׁנָה *he used to do year by year*, 1 Sam. i. 7, ii. 19; *for forty years* אָקוּט *was I grieved*, Ps. xcv. 10; Job xxix. 2 f., 6 f.; Prov. vii. 11 f.; also in dependent propositions; as, *they went away* בַּאֲשֶׁר יִתְהַלָּכוּ *whithersoever they went*, 1 Sam. xxiii. 13, where the Septuagint has the appropriate rendering, *οὗ ἐὰν ἐπορεύοντο.* Here, accordingly, the Hebrew imperfect almost exactly corresponds to the Latin *imperfect*, strictly so called (properly, *imperfectum præteriti*).

It often depends on the speaker whether he wishes to state a thing that may have even been several times repeated, simply as having happened, *i.e.* in the *perfect*, or to indicate it more definitely [as having been repeated, by using the imperfect]. Hence, the one form may be exchanged for the other in different lines of poetry; as, *never hath the bow of Jonathan turned back* (*i.e.* homewards); *and never did the sword of Saul return* (*i.e.* it never used to return) *in vain*, 2 Sam. i. 22.

In Aramaic, this whole use of the imperfect for any kind of present completely ceases, through the introduction of the *participle* as a *present*, exactly as if it were a third tense-form;[1] there is, indeed, a beginning made in the same direction by the Hebrew also, but only to a limited extent (see § 168). On the other hand, the Ethiopic has not at all admitted the interchange of the participle with the imperfect: the Arabic allows it, but at least to a still smaller extent than the Hebrew.

d. (2.) The imperfect is the definite form of expression for a thing that is absolutely *future*, in the strongest contrast with the perfect; as, לֹא הָיָה וְלֹא יִהְיֶה *there has not been, and there will not be.* In narratives, however, this quite bald expression may also indicate what was [356] *then* future, in relation to the circumstances described; as, *the firstborn who* יִמְלֹךְ *was to rule* (regnaturus *erat*), 2 Kings iii. 27, xiii. 14; Eccles. iv. 15.

[1] [Regarding the Syriac, see Uhlemann's *Grammar*, § 64. 2, A. In Chaldee, the pronominal fragments are sometimes completely fused with the participial forms; see Winer's *Grammar*, § 13.]

Similarly, the imperfect stands, without anything further, in dependent propositions, even when the discourse treats of the past (in which case, therefore, the Latin would employ the imperfect subjunctive); as, הֲיָדוֹעַ נֵדַע כִּי יֹאמַר *did we know that he would say?* (like יָדַעְתִּי כִּי יֹאמַר *I know that he will say*), Gen. xliii. 7, 25, cf. ii. 19; Ex. ii. 4; 1 Sam. xxii. 22.

e. Such is only the most natural application of this meaning of the imperfect. But the colour and character of the discourse, and, together with these, its actual mode of delivery, which cannot be expressed in any written form, as well as the tone of the speaker,—all these may further present very great variety as regards the mode in which they are arranged and connected. Nevertheless, this simple meaning of the future still continues to be applied; while our [modern] languages, in these cases, instead of the direct future, choose more definite expressions. Thus (*a*) it stands in a doubting question when there is uncertainty regarding what may happen; as, הַאֵלֵךְ *shall I* (*i.e.* am I to) *go?* Mic. vi. 6; or in a question which indicates rejection of a proposal; as, הֲלֹא אֶפְעַל *should I not do?* Ps. cxxxix. 21; also, in discourse which signifies unwilling rejection of a thought; as, מָה אֶקֹּב *how am I to curse* the good man? Num. xxiii. 8. But this may also be applied, once more, in such a way that something actually past is meant; as, הֲיָמוּת *should* Abner *die?* or rather (for he was at that time actually dead), ought he to have died (moriendumne ei erat)? 2 Sam. iii. 33; 1 Sam. xxi. 16; Gen. xliii. 7, אֵיךְ נָשִׁיר *how were we to sing!* Ps. cxxxvii. 4. (*β*) In propositions which form merely a calm concession that something may possibly be, while, at the same time, nothing is thrown in the way of its accomplishment; as, *afterwards* תַּלְעִיג *thou wilt* (or *mayest*) *mock*, Job xxi. 3; Prov. xxii. 29; especially when there immediately follows an antithetical proposition, by which the concession is restricted; as, *of all the trees of the garden* תֹּאכֵל *thou wilt* (or *mayest*) *eat, but not . . .*, Gen. ii. 16; Lev. xxi. 22 f., xxii. 23; Deut. xii. 20 f. Similarly, it is used in propositions indicative of general possibility; as, *beings* יְדַכְּאוּם which people *will* (or *may, can*) *crush*,—hence the Lat. *conterenda*, Job iv. 19, xxviii. 1; Jer. xxiv. 2, 3, 8, xxix. 17: [*your children* יֹאמְרוּ *may* (might possibly) *say*, Josh. xxii. 24, *according as he may command*, Ex. viii. 23; see Driver, p. 41]. (*γ*) Or,

finally, in strict injunctions regarding what shall be done and must be done (which, however, mostly occurs only in negative propositions, see § 328*c*), whether in the form of a law, as, לֹא תֹאכַל *thou shalt not* (*i.e.* thou must not, art not to) *eat!* Gen. ii. 17, or merely in a general way, in solemn diction, as, *thou hast done* אֲשֶׁר לֹא יֵעָשֶׂה *what is* (or *ought*) *not to be done*, the emphasis being laid on the negative (Lat. *haud facienda*), Gen. xx. 9, xxxiv. 7; Lev. iv. 2; Job xxviii. 18.[1] In propositions which are at the same time dependent on another, the same thing also occurs without negatives; as, *he taught them* אֵיךְ יִרְאוּ *how they should* (*i.e.* were to, ought to) *fear* God, 2 Kings xvii. 28 [357] (for, in this case, it is impossible to use the imperative or infinitive absolute, § 328*c*).[2]

f. Moreover, as the perfect within its own sphere (see § 135*d*), so can this imperfect also indicate something which is merely *conceived* of as becoming [*i.e.* progressing], coming and following, *if* some other thing *were* (or in German [and English], more briefly, of a thing which *would be*); as, *for then* (if I had died when a child) אֶשְׁקוֹט *shall I be at rest;* but, since the thing is obviously now impossible, the expression is equivalent to, *would I be at rest*, Job iii. 13, 16, vi. 27, ix. 15–18, xiii. 19, xiv. 14 f.; xxxi. 36 f.; Jer. iii. 1; with כִּמְעַט *soon* (easily) *would* . . ., Job xxxii. 22.[3] There may likewise (see above, under *e*) come in here the idea of *propriety*, fitness, or obligation [Ger. *das Sollen*] (hence also the earnest wish that something, which actually belongs to the past, should have happened); thus, אֶגְוַע *I should die* (if it were necessary that I should be born), hence *I ought to have died*, Job x. 18, 19, and negatively in Obad. 12;[4] cf. הֲיָמוּת *moriendumne ei erat?* in *e*, above. In such cases, however, which are rare, the

[1] Cf. ما لا يوصف *what is not to be* (cannot be) *described;* لا يقال *it must not be said*, etc.

[2] Cf. *they had ears* يسمعون بها *with which they were to hear*, Sura xxii. 45, and many similar expressions.

[3] In Aramaic: *we were angry at them* ܢܘܒܕ ܐܢܘܢ *so that we would have destroyed them, unless* . . . Assemani's *Bibl. orientalis*, i. p. 371, 17. For the sake of perspicuity, the later languages always readily add ܗܘܐ or كان *fuit* to the imperfect when it refers to the past.

[4] For all these words, in conformity with the whole context, would be more clearly rendered thus: *But thou oughtest not to have* . . .

immediately preceding context always contains some safe guide to the correct meaning.

g. But it is something essentially new that presents itself when the imperfect is used, in dependent propositions, to indicate what is to take place as the *intention* of the agent; the form may then be also employed in narrating what is past; as, *he commanded* כִּי יְשֻׁבוּן *that they should return* (*ut redirent*), Job xxxvi. 10; מִנָּה־יַעַמְדוּ *imperavit* (*ut*) *starent*, more briefly without כִּי *that*, Dan. i. 5; Prov. viii. 29; cf. § 338; also with לְמַעַן *that I might do this, they did that*, Neh. vi. 13. For, the idea of *purpose* may here be so completely predominant that the special mood already briefly mentioned in § *a* is rather used instead. In Aramaic, certainly, the plain imperfect is always used in this sense as a future; in Arabic, however, and in Ethiopic, it is always the subjunctive mood, which, indeed, in the latter language, coincides with the voluntative.[1] Here, also, the Hebrew vacillates between the two cases, and when it employs a more definite mood, resembles the Ethiopic; cf. §§ 224, 337.

h. (3.) When neither these two tense-forms, either simply, or as modified in accordance [358] with what is stated in §§ 230–34, nor the participles (see § 168*c*) are sufficient to determine the time of an action, then far more definite indications still may be formed; thus, with the assistance of prepositions, *the gate was* לִסְגּוֹר *to* [be] *shut, i.e.* was just about to be closed, Josh. ii. 5 (cf. § 217*d*, 2); or, with the aid of the verb *to come*, which is, in many languages, joined with the chief verb in such a way that we could even say, בָּא מִבּוֹא *he had come from coming, i.e.* he had just come, Gen. xxiv. 62.[2] But all these rather prolix indications of more definite time-relations are still very rare in Hebrew.

[1] [See Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, II. § 15; and Dillmann's *Aethiop. Grammatik*, § 90; 169, 7; 197*a*.]

[2] See Ewald's *Antiquities of Israel*, pp. 202–3 [English translation. Cf. also the French, *il vient d'arriver*].

THE RELATIONS (MOODS) OF THE VERB.

[579] 1. THE RELATIONS OF THE PREDICATED ACTION, AS IMPASSIONED OR UNIMPASSIONED.

Voluntative and Imperative, simple and intensified.

223*a*. The verb, as it appears in its earliest developed form (described in §§ 190–199), expresses ideas, first of all, in a wholly unimpassioned manner, without any indication that the speaker feels an interest of his own in the subject of which he treats. What he says consists of a mere mention: he makes an objective, and hence unimpassioned statement, contenting himself with simply doing this. But the speaker may also, in quite another manner, directly import into the predication of the action his own interest in it,—always supposing that he wishes to take such an interest in it at all. He can throw into it his whole personal (subjective) feelings and desires; and, inasmuch as this (like everything personal) varies very much in degree and kind, there may possibly arise, in contrast with the *indicative*, a multitude of *subjective moods*, which, however, differ more or less from one another; hence, also, one may grow out of the other. That which, in the case of the noun (see § 202*b*), is the exclamation (*vocative*), is here the impassioned, abrupt mood. But we have now to state here the special way in which the latter is expressed, and to show how far this is done merely through the tone of the discourse (which, in the case of the fine shades of feeling imparted by the addition of personal sympathy, may, of course, form an element of considerable importance), or by fresh changes in the form of the words.

b. The *perfect*, uttered more forcibly than at other times, and as if in exclamation, may, even without any further modification, serve to express the *wish* of the speaker,—the special emphasis with which he declares his own wish being indicated merely by the more lively colouring imparted to the discourse. Now, since the perfect represents the action as completed, the speaker thereby expresses, in somewhat unimpassioned form, though with an indication of the interest which

he himself feels, what he would like to see already fulfilled, and believes is already fulfilled at the very moment when he utters the wish. Hence the infusion of this colouring into the discourse produces the [580] appropriate form of expression in Arabic for a pious (religious) desire ; and the perfect with such a position and meaning is most fitly termed the *precative.* That the perfect could be so used in Hebrew also, is safely inferred from the occurrence of particular expressions which otherwise remain unintelligible ; as, אָבְדוּ *perish the wicked !* Ps. x. 16, lvii. 7 ; *the counsel of the wicked* רָחֲקָה *be far* from me ! Job xxi. 16, xxii. 18 ; פָּדִיתָה *thou* (O God) *hast* redeemed me ! (or, *redeemest me !*) Ps. xxxi. 6, cxvi. 16 ; Lam. i. 21, iii. 57–61 ; Isa. xxvi. 15.[1] In Arabic, the perfect, in such a case, must likewise always stand at the beginning with emphasis ; and in the usage actually followed by the language, it has gradually become restricted to certain expressions (see Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* § 710). In Hebrew, as is shown by the instances quoted above, somewhat greater freedom still remains here ; but, besides the above few examples, all of which, moreover, belong to the language of poetry, it can scarcely be said that there are many others[2] in the Old Testament.[3] Still another old mode of expression of this kind is חַי־יְהוָה *may Jahve*[4] *live!* (see § 142*b*) which now occurs only in the genuine Davidic poem, Ps. xviii. 47 (2 Sam. xxii. 47), and is accordingly different from the expression used in swearing (see § 329*a*).

[1] [Cf. the strong command in English, *you go directly !* and Germ. *du gehst sogleich !*]

[2] [Böttcher, who also allows that there is a precative perfect in Hebrew (*Lehrbuch*, §§ 939*g*, 947*g*), will not, however, admit it in all the cases cited above by Ewald, but only in Ps. cxvi. 16 ; Job xxi. 16, xxii. 18 ; Lam. iii. 57–61 ; but he further adds Isa. xliii. 9 ; Mic. i. 10 (*Kethib*) ; Ps. iv. 2, vii. 7, xxii. 22, lxxi. 3, cxli. 6, 7. See Driver, § 20.]

[3] In Syriac, the verb ܗܘܳܐ, at least, is still employed thus as a remnant of this old style of discourse ; in this case, however, it is not subordinated to another verb or an adjective, as under other circumstances, but, in the most direct opposition to that construction, takes up a position of most emphatic prominence at the beginning (like the Arabic *precative*).

[4] [On the pronunciation of the divine name יהוה, see especially Gesenius, *Thesaurus;* or W. A. Wright's article in Smith's *Bible Dictionary;* Russel Martineau's treatise appended to vol. ii. of the English translation of Ewald's *History of Israel.*]

c. On the other hand, the *imperfect* (see § 136*a*), as the expression for what is becoming [*i.e.* incipient], is very suitable, when uttered with special emphasis, for indicating what, according to the speaker's own mind and wish, ought to be, and the attainment of which he represents as meanwhile dependent on something. Thus, out of the imperfect, in addition to its first and most natural form,[1] there arise several new moods, which agree merely in this, that they all express the most direct motions of the will, and thus are the same in the verb as a vocative would be in the noun. The form, however, which shows itself to be the most natural in this case, we call, pre-eminently, the *voluntative,*—to give it the most general name that best answers to the idea which it presents.[2]

d. But it lies in the very nature of volition to express itself with great variety of degree and force, just in the same way as [581], in the case of the noun (see § 202*b*), the exclamation varies. The precative, indeed (see § *b*), is merely a particular kind of it; but here, gradation comes into more distinct prominence, so that we must at once distinguish between the *simple* and the *intensified* expression.

224. 1st. The *voluntative* is the emphatic expression of the desire felt by the speaker that something should take place. Hence it differs from the imperfect almost solely in being uttered more briefly and rapidly (like the ordinary vocative in the case of the noun), the pause made by the voice being rather strongly retracted from the end and laid on the beginning of the word. The separate effects of this, however (except in the mere tone of the proposition), are only in part still distinctly perceptible in Hebrew; in Aramaic they have almost completely disappeared.

In the case of the many persons which end with the third radical, the shortening must be shown in the stem itself. In

[1] Viz. the *indicative*, which, inasmuch as the verb is not made dependent on a word, either in impassioned language or otherwise, may also be compared to the *nominative*. But it would be quite a mistake to suppose that the Semitic originally formed the imperfect for the purpose of expressing a nominative, because the resemblance between the indicative and nominative is merely a remote one after all (cf. § 191*a*).

[2] [Ewald includes, within the general designation *Voluntative*, both the lengthened or *Cohortative*, and the shortened or *Jussive* forms of the imperfect; see §§ 224, 228.]

the strong verb, however, where, for the most part, two compound syllables come together, and where, in the final syllable, the vowels are very simple, the laws regarding the tone (see § 85) and those regarding the accented vowels (see § 32 ff.), do not generally allow any further shortening of the final syllable; only in Hiphil is the *î* (see § 252) regularly shortened into the short sound *ĭ*, which, on account of the tone, becomes *ê* (see § 33*b*); as, יַשְׁכֵּן *let him cause to dwell*, תּוֹצֵא *let it bring forth*, Gen. i. 10, 24; Ps. vii. 6; Job xi. 14. But in weak roots, the shortening is, for the most part, much more easily effected, and more generally capable of being distinguished.[1]

[584] 226. 2d. The *imperative* is the highest degree of the voluntative,—the briefest expression of a desire regarding what is to be done. Hence it always presents itself in a still more fragmentary form than the jussive, as a mere exclamation, and thus also nearly always stands at the beginning of the proposition. And so little can it admit of being subordinated, that the subjective negative אַל (*μή*, Lat. *ne*) is not joined with it, but always continues to be construed with the voluntative; as, אַל תְּהִי *ne sis!* אַל תַּעַשׂ *ne fac!*[1]

[589] 228. 3d. An *intensification* of the voluntative and imperative arises from the employment of ָה, by which still greater and more special prominence is visibly assigned to the mental *endeavour* and the *direction* of the will towards a definite object. This sign, which, in the noun, expresses the idea of direction towards a place (see § 216), attaches itself to these moods also, and thus indicates the will of the speaker in a still stronger manner. The use of this intensified voluntative [now generally called the cohortative], however, is, in Hebrew, more confined within certain limits. It is most frequently and properly employed only in the *first person*, to which, in fact, the short, quick command is less appropriate than the effort which is founded on inward deliberation, and which forms the impelling force urging on one's own more tardy will; as, אֲזַמְּרָה *then let me sing*, נֵלְכָה *then let us go.* It makes no difference whether that which one himself intends

[1] [What immediately follows, in the original, refers to the *forms* assumed by the jussive in the irregular verbs, and is here omitted, as belonging to accidence rather than Syntax.—For a very full discussion of the cohortative and jussive, see Driver on the Hebrew Tenses, chap. iv. and Appendix II.]

to do, and is on the point of doing, is to proceed from an entirely free determination of will, Prov. xii. 19; or is likewise conditioned by external influence, in which case we may often render the form by, *I am to* . . . Isa. xxxviii. 10 ; Jer. iv. 21, vi. 10 ; or, *I must* . . . Jer. iii. 25, iv. 19 ; Ps. xlii. 5, lv. 3, lvii. 5, lxxxviii. 16. In the case of passive ideas, it is, of course, more the fervency of the wish that is expressed in this way, Ps. lxix. 15. In the other persons, this intensified form is very rare; and, in the case of the third person, it occurs only sometimes in poetry; as, תָּבוֹאָה *let it come*, Isa. v. 19 ; Ps. xx. 4. But even the intensified form of the first person becomes more and more restricted to poetry, and in Aramaic this whole formation disappears. It may further be remarked that it is most readily retained when, in contrast with a preceding unchangeable vowel, it is without the tone : it is least likely to be preserved when it would necessitate the removal of a preceding changeable vowel, as if a sound of this nature mostly sought to defend itself against extinction; thus the form אֶצְּרֹף is maintained between אָשִׁיבָה and אָסִירָה in Isa. i. 25.

[593] 2. AN ACTION, AS STATED BY ITSELF, OR IN RELATION TO ANOTHER.

Consecutive Moods and Tenses.

230. As a preposition and its subordinated noun, so can a conjunction and its subordinated verb form an inseparably close combination, in which the one member conditions the other, and the exact sense is given by both only in this close connection. But this takes place only when certain new ideas are formed; because an ordinary conjunction, without such a force, stands far more loosely before the proposition (see § 222). A conjunction of this stronger kind is found pre-eminently in the copulative וַ־, inasmuch as it does not simply mean *and*, but (like our *then*, or *so*) indicates, more emphatically, the *consequence* of the action, the sequence of time, or thought; and in such a case, it certainly received greater prominence in the living language. If this, or a similar conjunction, be combined with a tense or mood, progressive, connective, and therefore relative tenses and moods are formed; and for this purpose

the two tenses are developed in a new and peculiar fashion. That which most readily suggests itself, however, in this case, is—

231*a*. 1st. *The relatively-progressive imperfect.* To the imperfect there is prefixed, as a particle of time referring to the past, the syllable *a*-, while the consonant succeeding it is doubled. This syllable, which was, perhaps, originally *ad*, אָז, is of pronominal origin, and corresponds to the augment in other languages,[1] has the meaning of *then.* But it has always been fused with the conjunction וְ *and* (which thereby becomes more emphatic) [594] into *va*-, while the succeeding consonant is doubled; and it is only through the fusion of the two particles that there arises the more emphatic *ánd*, which throws an action into the sphere of the past. To this prefix is subordinated the imperfect in the form of the voluntative, inasmuch as the latter posits the action itself as already going on, and consequently dependent, or closely connecting itself with some point or other.[2] Thus there arises a composite

[1] In Sanskrit and Zend, Greek, Armenian, Afghan; cf. *Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Band ii. p. 304 f. The aorist and the potential both arise from a tense which is no longer preserved anywhere in Indo-Germanic in its original form, which must have formed the analogue of the Semitic imperfect, and whose antithesis has now, similarly, in the Indo-Germanic, after decay, resolved itself into the ancient perfect and the modern present. The augment in Semitic may have been originally ·*am;* if so, an explanation is thereby given of the employment of لَمْ with the apocopated imperfect (see Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* § 210; [Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, ii. § 18]). This form, however, is too plainly an abbreviation of لَمَّا *not yet*, though it never occurs in protases.

[2] It is necessary to assume that the form is the voluntative, especially on account of the occurrence, in the first person, of the ָה, because this does not admit of explanation in any other way. And, in fact, the idea presented by the form ceases to be any objection whatever against its employment, as soon as we grant that, in a somewhat wider sense, it might indicate generally what is dependent and relative (cf. § 338). The mere shortening of the imperfect might, if necessary, be explained on the principles laid down in § 181*a* and 243*b;* but such an explanation is not required. The modern Persian, in a very similar way, prefixes *be*- (a syllable which indicates approach, advance), not merely to the present, for the purpose of forming the definite *future* (and hence also to the subjunctive and imperative), but also to the shortened perfect, in order to form the imperfect of narration, *i.e.* the Greek aorist. The ancient languages have not such a

word-form which transfers an action that is taking place back into the past (see § 136*b*); and attaches it there, at some point already mentioned, in its necessary *sequence,* and in such a way that it can be perceived in its beginning there. This is the *progressive imperfectum perfecti,* which advances from some point, or thought, already stated; and which, consequently, never stands by itself (absolutely), but always *relatively* to another.

b. Now, since this imperfect (which, apart from the *and* which ever adheres to it, exactly answers to the Greek aorist) is always attached, by the emphatic *ánd,* to a perfect already mentioned, or at least assumed as known,—like the produced effect to the primary producing cause,—it is plain that, setting aside the force of the relative sequence, the *perfect* would be used instead. But as, in creation, through the continual force of motion and progress, that which has become [Ger. *das Gewordene*], and is, constantly modifies its form for something new; so, in thought, the new advance which takes place (*and thus . . ., then . . .*) suddenly changes the action which, taken by itself absolutely, would stand in the perfect, into this tense, which indicates becoming [Ger. *das Werden,* Gr. τὸ γίγνεσθαι], —the imperfect.[1] But one [595] progressive action of this kind may, in the case of a new advance in the course of thought, be immediately succeeded by another, to an indefinite extent. And various as the applications of the perfect are (see § 135), equally so, in every single point, are those of its counterpart.

strong liking for the past as to narrate it merely under its proper form; but they, as it were, quickly throw it into some definite place or other in the past, attach it there, and depict its approach and progress from that point: in the Hebrew, this is rendered only still more evident by the employment of the *and.* In Coptic, at least the construction of the imperfect with ⲙ̇ⲡⲉ . . . and ⲙ̇ⲡⲁⲧ . . ., which answers to the Arabic negative already mentioned, is a similar instance (see Ewald's *Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen,* i. p. 55 ff.); cf. also Gabelentz, *Melan. Sp.* p. 39; Schlegel, *Ewe-Spr.* p. 63.

[1] Hence the old [Jewish] grammarians had already begun to speak of a *Vav conversive,*—a name which, properly understood, is not incorrect, though, to be more precise, it should be *Vav consecutive-conversive.* [Hitzig calls it *Vav relative,* but this designation is rather indefinite.] That the וַ itself is derived from a הָוָה *fuit,* as was formerly supposed, is incorrect, in spite of an apparent similarity in Vei (see Kölle, p. 137 f). [See further, Driver on the Hebrew Tenses, pp. 76–78.]

Thus, in the case of simple narration, אָמַר וַיְהִי *he spake, ánd* (as he had spoken, so) *it was done;* or, in the case of actions which, at the moment when the statement is made, are evidently completed, but, in their effects, reach to the present; *this one has come as a stranger* וַיִּשְׁפֹּט *ánd judges* (as we have seen) *nevertheless!* Gen. xix. 9, xxxi. 15; 2 Sam. iii. 8. See further, § 342.

c. But if, besides, we look to history, it must be said that this form, as owing its origin to the extremely lively fancy which characterizes the language (like everything in this department in which the youthful vigour of the language shows itself, *e.g.* the distinction of gender made in relation to all objects; on which, see § 171 ff.), belongs to an earlier period, and hence gradually gives way to other forms. In Hebrew, indeed, this modification of the *imperfect* continues very prevalent, and forms one of its essential characteristics; but even so early as the later times of the Old Testament (especially, for instance, in the Book of Ecclesiastes[1] [i. 13, 16, ii. 5, 9, 12, 13, etc.]), the simple perfect with the ordinary וְ is employed instead; and, in the rest of the Semitic languages, it almost wholly ceases to be used.[2]

[599] 233*a*. It is only the poetic writers who sometimes venture on using these short imperfects without the prefix. Though

[1] [Ewald assigns Ecclesiastes to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century B.C., *i.e.* to the later times of the Persian supremacy; he thinks the book was written after Malachi, but before Chronicles and Esther. See his *History of Israel* (Eng. translation), vol. v. pp. 182, 189; cf. also pp. 192, 200, 202, and what he says in his Introduction to *Qohelet* (Dichter des alten Bundes).]

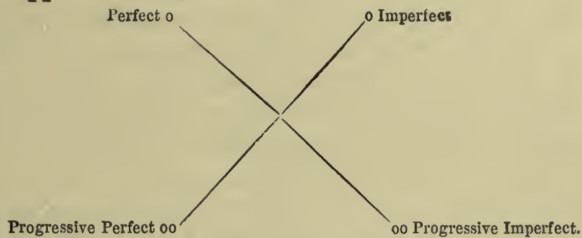
[2] In Aramaic, completely so: in the Mishna, II וַ (to indicate it briefly thus) is entirely wanting, and I וְ (see § 234) is very rare. In Arabic, the combination of لَمْ with the shortened imperfect (see Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* § 210; [Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, ii. § 18]) forms a still remaining instance of the usage; and in the Saho language, *ekke* is the aorist, *akke* the ordinary future, in which a similar distinction is still perceived, *Journ. asiat.*, 1843, tom. ii. p. 115 f. But the Phoenician here also still more closely resembles the Hebrew (see Ewald's *Abhandl. über die sidonische Inschrift*, pp. 18, 46); and in Arabic, the meaning still continues to be expressed, if in no other way, at least by the great change in the sound of the prefixed particle (فَـ instead of وَ).

the omission is to be regarded, generally, in almost the same way as when, in Sanskrit (where it rarely happens), or in Greek, the aorist is used without the augment, yet it has other special reasons of its own in Hebrew (see §§ 343*b*, 346*b*); thus יָשֵׁת in Ps. xviii. 12 for וַיָּשֶׁת in 2 Sam. xxii. 12. Poets especially, in order to depict the past more vividly, as if it were present, may designedly omit the augment and use the simple וְ with this imperfect; which, again, is most apt to be so treated when it occurs in the first person, and has an affix (as if the word became lighter at the beginning, before the heavy termination); thus Isa. x. 13, xii. 1, xliii. 28, xlviii. 3, li. 2, lvii. 17, lxiii. 3–6; Ps. civ. 32, cvii. 26–29, lxvi. 6; Prov. vii. 7; Hos. vi. 1; Deut. xxxii. 8. The form may then also, contrary to its original use, and the general employment of it everywhere else, be placed in some other position than at the beginning of a proposition, as once actually happens in Deut. xxxii. 18, where תֶּשִׁי is found, in pause, for תְּשִׁי (*Hiph.* of שָׁיָה = שָׁהָה, § 113*d*, *forget, neglect*).

b. This imperfect is also used under other circumstances without augment, but mostly with the same shortening, and in the first person with ־ָה; also after אָז *then*, 1 Kings viii. 1; Deut. iv. 41; שָׁם *there*, used poetically of time, Ps. lxvi. 6, and עַד *until*, Ps. lxxiii. 17 (*donec pervenirem*). For here are found in operation exactly the same causes which (according to § 231) require that וַ should be followed by the voluntative. In prose, however, this takes place only in the case of אָז.

234*a*. 2d. *The relatively-progressive perfect.* Since the imperfect may have the perfect as its antithesis in every respect, the relatively-progressive imperfect, of which we have been treating, of itself calls forth the relatively-progressive perfect. But this is a form in which the Semitic [600] alone manifests thoroughgoing logical consistency, while the Indo-Germanic stops short; and which very clearly shows the highly exceptional wealth of peculiar forms which the Semitic—amidst the seeming poverty arising from its having but two leading tenses, which alone have been fully developed—has at its command (see § 134*b*). As, therefore, in the combination previously explained, the flowing sequence of time or thought causes that which has been realized [*i.e.* attained

completion, Ger. *das Gewordene*], and exists, to be regarded as passing over into new realization; so, in the present case, it has the effect of at once representing that which is advancing towards realization [Ger. *das Werdende*], as entering into full and complete existence [Ger. *das Seyn*]. Hence, each of the plain tenses gracefully intersects the other, by interchanging with its opposite,[1] thus,—



Cf. similar interchanges in § 177*e f* [Ges. § 87, 4; Gr. § 200*f*], 267*f* [Ges. § 97, 1; Gr. § 223, 2; Dav. § 148, 3]. And in all those meanings in which (see § 136) the imperfect itself, or even its abbreviations, the voluntative and imperative, would be used, this perfect is at once introduced, with the energetic *ánd*, or *só* (*then*), when the discourse proceeds in an unimpassioned manner (see § 342).

b. As this relatively-progressive perfect is the exact opposite of the progressive imperfect in idea, so is it also in its form. In front, it wholly drops the augment, and thereby allows the וְ to become a simple conjunction once more. But, to compensate for this, the tone is so strongly placed on the end of the word, that one would think the augment had originally been wholly put behind. It is as if one wished to say in English, *thén͡speaks* or *thén͡spake*, and, on the contrary, *then͡spéaks;* or as if the former, from the front, sought to attach itself to the past, and the latter, from behind, to the future. None of the later Semitic languages, however, shows any trace of this ancient form,[2] which, even in Hebrew, is less and less employed. In the present condition of the Hebrew, too, even the mere change of the tone is no longer clearly marked in every case.

[1] Cf. a similar usage in the Odschi (see *Riis*, p. 156).

[2] Cf., however, Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* ii. p. 347; here, too, the Phoenician show a Hebraizing tendency.

[602] In § 343 are shown the limitations to the employment of these two *relative* or *modified* tenses in a proposition; as also the way in which, out of them again, two new kinds of time-specifications are formed: so that (to say nothing of the *participle*, on which see § 200) we may, in Hebrew, even speak of six tense-forms (two plain, two modified, two re-simplified).

235*a*. 3d. *The relatively-progressive voluntative* presents the desire and the design of attaining something as the consequence or aim of something presupposed,—answering to the English *in order that*, and the Latin *ut* with the subjunctive. It is usually preceded by an imperative; as, הֶרֶף וַאֲדַבְּרָה *stop, that I may speak!* But it may follow any other kind of proposition to which the idea of a purpose is attached; thus even, *it is good* וְיָחִיל *that he should wait*, Lam. i. 19, iii. 26; Ex. i. 17; Lev. xv. 24, xxvi. 43. It is most naturally employed, however, with the particles of purpose themselves; see § 337*b*.[1] And as the imperative, speaking generally, differs from the voluntative merely in degree, so also a *relative imperative* becomes possible, whenever the second person is employed; thus, *that he may pray for thee* וֶחְיֵה *and that thou* (as I wish, by this very means) *mayest live*, Gen. xx. 7; Ruth i. 9; Job xi. 6; cf. further, § 347. But where this voluntative has more the sense merely of the Latin *ut* with the subjunctive, and the imperative does not immediately precede, the ־ָה is less frequently used, even in the first person (see § 229).

[603] *b*. The voluntative remains in this case, through all the persons, as it would appear even without this וְ (according to §§ 224–229): the forms וַתְּבֹאֶינָה and וַתְּבֹאנָה *ut veniant*, are both possible in this construction, as in § 225; cf. § 94*a*. In the first person, the form frequently vacillates (as in § 232*d*) between abbreviation and assumption of the ־ָה; so that words like וְאָשׁוּב, Zech. i. 3, from verbs ע״ו, become possible, because

[1] The Arabic here acquires greater power in exact distinction, by putting the imperfect in a series of words, and thus making it dependent on the telic particle, like an oblique case: in this way there arises a true *subjunctive mood*; as, أَنْ يَكْتُبَ *ut scribat*. But the Ethiopic knows nothing of this last development, and follows the Hebrew.

the ־ָה, which indicates motion, falls away, while the short voluntative form does not at once reappear. There are, to be sure, in the mode of pronouncing the וְ in this combination, minor anomalies which would be impossible when the simple וְ *and*, is used; as, וָֽאֲסָעֲרֵם, Zech. vii. 14, instead of וָאֱ' (see § 62*b*); וָֽאַעְשִׁר, Zech. xi. 5, for וָאַעְ' (see § 73*b*), וָֽאַעֲנֶה (see § 88*d*); but these are, on the whole, rarely found. Since, however, the idea of progress and sequence must be expressed somewhere or other in the compound, we must assume that the וְ here employed is not the simple, but the stronger one; which also, there can be no doubt, was originally sounded more strongly, and may have this idea in itself, as well as before any other word (see § 348). The latter [וְ], therefore, has certainly arisen in such a way from the other וַ prefixed to the imperfect (already discussed in § 231), that it no longer indicates anything more than sequence (consecution). Thus it corresponds to the Arabic فَ, which gives the same meaning as all these Hebrew compounds, but which now, as bearing this meaning in itself, may be prefixed to any simple tense or other kind of word. Hence it is like a finer precipitate of the much more cumbrous Hebrew compound forms.[1]

c. The voluntative may also be used (as in Arabic) in conditional propositions (see § 357*b*); similarly, the shortened imperfect יֵשֶׁל[2] is once closely joined with כִּי, in the sense of *when*, Job xxvii. 8. Moreover, it is employed in relative propositions which state a mere remote possibility; as, *he receives nothing* שֶׁיֹּלֵךְ *which he may* (can) *take away* with him, Eccles. v. 14; cf. on the other hand, the form יוֹלִךְ in Eccles. x. 20, which, through the style and the context in which the proposition stands, has quite a different meaning.

[1] In Aramaic also, and still more in Ethiopic, the simple *and* may, nevertheless, in accordance with the context, always continue to bear the meaning of the *vav of sequence*.

[2] The root may be either נָשַׁל or שָׁלַל *to draw out*, imperf. יִשֹּׁל or יִשַּׁל (see § 232*b*), from which יֵשֶׁל could easily be formed (see § 232*c*).

[684]

SYNTAX.

276*a*. A sentence is a longer or shorter series of notions connected in such way that the *subject, i.e.* the person or thing spoken of, as being the chief word, and the *predicate,* or statement made regarding him or it, form its two essential and necessary elements, to which every other that it may also happen to contain is more or less closely attached. If one of these two members be wanting (as in an exclamation), we have a kind of incomplete, insufficient proposition. Even the simplest sentence, if it is to be complete and unimpassioned, must contain the two indispensable corner-stones on which the whole fabric is built: it must, on the one hand, mention a person (or something that occupies the place of this); and, on the other hand, make a statement regarding him. But since (see § 190) both of these two elements are combined in the verb, every fully inflected verb necessarily contains in itself a complete proposition; as, נִגְנַב *he* (or, to take a more inanimate subject, *it*) *has been stolen.* As both the subject and the predicate are the necessary, so they are also the direct and independent members of the proposition; hence, not merely the former, as the leading word, but also the latter, or the statement regarding it, if a mere noun, is to be considered as in the nominative; and their several positions are to be regarded as proper to the nominative [thus, David is the king]; cf. further, § 296. When one of these two main supports of the sentence is omitted, it becomes incomplete, and there is but an imperfect expression of thought: this, indeed, may be tolerated, under certain circumstances, but there is always something obscure and unsatisfactory in such a case. Provided that these two main elements are present, there may be the greatest possible variety in meaning and expression; and to these two chief constituents a number of others may be attached.

Speaking generally, however, a sentence is either *simple* [*i.e.* absolute] — an independent statement; or *subordinate* [dependent] — attached to another as its support; or *conditional*—placed before another in a contingent or variable relation. But even a simple sentence admits of manifold variety as regards manner and style.

b. Now, though all the words in a sentence must stand in mutual relation to each other [685], and though every one must give a clear and distinct meaning in its own place and connection, yet very much depends further on the means which a language possesses of expressing the various possible *relations of a word in the sentence*, and the manner in which these are formed in it. This is that internal structure of the parts of every sentence, which, more than anything else, exhibits the distinctive character of each individual language. Hence, before proceeding to consider more in detail the two main elements in every sentence, first by themselves, and then in their correlation, as well as in regard to their capability of receiving additions, together with all other varieties in the sentence, we must clearly understand the construction and the peculiarities of separate *groups of words* that may possibly be found in a sentence, inasmuch as these also help to determine the special mode in which the sentence itself is constructed.

STRUCTURE AND MEANING OF PARTICULAR GROUPS OF WORDS, AS MEMBERS OF A SENTENCE.

c. There are certain groups of words in which, around one word or particle, as if it were a stronger, or at least more firmly fixed foundation-stone, there may be placed another, or a multitude of others, which depend on it, and more or less closely refer to it alone. Such a group, larger or smaller as the case may be, when it does not happen to present an incomplete proposition, may form any member of a whole sentence; but it has, besides, a law of its own, which regulates its form and functions. And these laws are of so much the more importance in proportion as a language, such as those forming the Semitic family, and more particularly the Hebrew,

is compelled to express the sense of many words in a sentence merely through the position assigned to them, and the arrangement of each one in relation to the others. Looking simply to the most general mode of connecting words together, we see there are three ways in which such groups may be formed. (*a*) One word may be *subordinated* to [*i.e.* governed by] another; and this either *freely* [loosely] (*i.e.* by being placed in the accusative), or by means of an outward sign (*i.e.* by having prepositions and such like particles attached to it). (*b*) Or, through the influence of the first, it allows itself to be attracted, and becomes the first link in a closely connected chain of words (*i.e.* it is placed in the so-called *construct state*, § 208) [see also Ges. § 89; Gr. § 212; Dav. § 17].[1] Or, finally, (*c*) two words may be placed beside each other without any visible change in form, or inequality, and show only by the sense of the whole that they are connected, — the second merely sustaining in the sentence the position and force of the first: this is *co-ordination* (apposition), which arises when subordination, in either of its two forms just described, may not be possible, or seems unnecessary.

d. The strict and the more free kinds of subordination, much though they differ, yet come ultimately to exhibit a large amount of similarity, so that the one may possibly accord with the other (see §§ 288*a*, 279*c*). Both varieties are opposed to the co-ordinate relation, and yet not in such a way as to exclude the possibility of a transition, at certain points, between it and its opposites. Hence, also, it is a matter of prime importance [686] to show how and when these three possible constructions resemble, agree with, or totally differ from each other.

e. In every case, however, an element of considerable importance in giving greater completeness of form to such

[1] [Koch well remarks that, in Semitic, the noun, as such, has but one mode of regimen, viz. the genitival attraction; the finite verb, as the contradictory opposite of the noun, has likewise really but one mode of government, in virtue of which the subordinated word is put in the accusative; for the prepositions employed as more definite exponents of the verbal regimen (see §§ 204*a*, 279) are nouns in the accusative, with genitival attractions (*Der semitische Infinitiv*, Stuttgart 1874, p. 20).]

groups is the difference between the noun as definite or as indefinite (with or without the article); this point, therefore, must be discussed here by way of preliminary. Strictly speaking, indeed, the article forms an instance of *apposition* (see § 293); but, in the languages in which it is employed, it has become so much of a light demonstrative to a noun, and, as such, has thus acquired so much additional importance and variety of meaning, that it will be best to begin by setting forth here, in a connected manner, all that pertains to this subject.

The Noun as Definite or Indefinite.

277*a*. The article originally stood in apposition to the noun, like a pronoun, but it no longer retains in Hebrew an independent position (see § 181 [also Ges. § 35, Rem. 1; Gr. § 229, 1*a*; Dav. § 11]). It is very frequently employed in ordinary speech. (1) It may point back to what has been already named, as in Gen. vi. 14 [*an ark, the ark*]; Jer. xiii. 1, 2 [*a girdle, the girdle*]. (2) It may be joined with well-known objects of a particular kind; as, הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*, הָאָרֶץ *the earth*. A kindred use of the article is its combination with the singular of common nouns, which are thereby rendered more prominent; as, הָאֲרִי *the lion* (and not the bull), Amos v. 19, 1 Sam. xvii. 34; הַפֶּרֶד *the mule*, הָעַלְמָה *the virgin*, Isa. vii. 14; הָאִישׁ *the man* (see § 294*b*); הַקַּדְמֹנִי *the ancient, the forefather*, 1 Sam. xxiv. 14; הַפָּלִיט, *the fugitive*, i.e. *the messenger with evil tidings*, Gen. xiv. 13, 2 Sam. xv. 13; הָאֹרֵב *the lier in wait, i.e.* those of the soldiers who are placed in ambush, Josh. viii. 19 ff., Judg, xx. 33 ff., in contrast with הַמַּשְׁחִית *the destroyer, i.e.* those of the soldiers who openly attack and destroy, 1 Sam. xiii. 17; גֹּאֵל הַדָּם *the avenger of blood*, viz. all on whom this duty devolves, 2 Sam. xiv. 11. This use of the article is particularly exemplified in the names of nations; as, הַכְּנַעֲנִי *the Canaanite*. (3) The noun may be definite from the very circumstances under which the discourse is carried on; as in the stock expressions הַיּוֹם *to-day*, also (when past time is spoken of) *that day, that time, then*, 1 Sam. i. 4, Job i. 6; הַלַּיְלָה *this night*, הַשָּׁנָה *this year*, Jer. xxviii. 16;

הַפַּעַם *this time, now.* Also (4) when the speaker assumes that the object is well known to his hearers; as, *saddle me* הַחֲמֹר *the ass,* i.e. *my ass,* 1 Kings xiii. 13, 23, 27; 2 Sam. xix. 27; or when the narrator assumes, from the circumstances of the case, that a particular object must evidently exist; as, *he sat down by the well,* Ex. ii. 15, because there is usually only one well for cattle near a city; *the servant mentioned,* Num. xi. 27, 2 Sam. xvii. 17, because it is usual for a special servant to attend his master. (5) Further, a noun which must be regarded as in itself indefinite may nevertheless become definite through the strongly retrospective influence of a succeeding relative [687] clause; as, *there will not be the people* (*i.e.* such a people) *whither the outcasts will not come,* Jer. xlix. 36 (cf. § 332*c*).

b. In poetry, however, the article is, in general, less frequently employed (as in Sanskrit and Latin), inasmuch as the language used is more brief and archaic in character. The omission even serves as an intensification of the meaning; thus, for instance, the discourse in Mic. vii. 11f. is altogether exceedingly condensed and abrupt, and the use of the article is therefore strenuously avoided. The omission of the article is also particularly suited to the artificially brief style of certain later writers; as, עַם *the people,* Hab. iii. 16, Isa. xiv. 32; דָּבָר *the word,* Ps. lvi. 11 (cf. ver. 5), Job xix. 28; עִיר or קֶרֶת, like *urbs,* for Jerusalem, Num. xxiv. 19, Prov. viii. 3, ix. 3, cf. i. 21;[1] קֹדֶשׁ *the sanctuary,* Dan. viii. 13 f., x. 1; hence, even לַיְלָה may mean *to-night,* Neh. vi. 10, and כָּל־פֶּה may signify, in poetry, *the whole mouth,* Isa. ix. 11 (see § 290*c*). Less difficult of explanation are cases like לְמוּאֵל מֶלֶךְ, which may be regarded as equivalent to our *King Lemuel,* Prov. xxxi. 1;[2] also, the omission of the article from an attributive; as, אֱלֹהִים חַי *the living God,* Isa. xxxvii. 4, 17. Cf. further, § *d.*

[1] See the *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissenschaften,* xi. 202.

[2] As on Maccabean coins, מתתיה כהן גדל, *Mattathiah, high priest,* or הכהן הגדל. When the presence of the article can be indicated only by the use of the vowel-points (§ 244*a*), the Massoretes in many cases appear to have marked it, without sufficient reason; cf. רָשָׁע and לָרָשָׁע in Ezek. iii. 18–21: this practice is especially frequent in the case of smaller words. On the other hand, in Gen. ii. and iii., הָאָדָם is the prevailing form, yet לְאָדָם is the reading in iii. 17; see also the interchange in 2 Sam. xii. 2–4.

c. Those *proper names*, which, though originally and properly collectives, may take the article for the purpose of giving them distinct prominence, drop it all the more readily in proportion as their primary meaning is forgotten, and as, in coming to represent simple and specific ideas, they sufficiently define themselves; hence, names of *persons* more rarely retain it, while names of places often have it still. Some words, especially archaic ones, never take it; as, תְּהוֹם, an almost mythical term, like *oceanus;* others have always retained it for the purpose of distinction; as, הַנָּהָר *the stream, i.e.* the Euphrates (but also, in poetry, simply נָהָר, Isa. vii. 20), הַבַּעַל *Baal* (properly, *the lord*), הַשָּׂטָן, an expression whose application to *Satan* is still comparatively recent, הַיַּרְדֵּן [the] *Jordan*, הַלְּבָנוֹן *Lebanon;* the last two, however, are also used in poetry without the article. In other cases, the article is dropped only gradually; as, הַגִּלְעָד and גִּלְעָד *Gilead*, Gen. xxxi. 21 ff., Num. xxxii. 1, 1 Sam. xiii. 7; הַקְּרִיּוֹת, Amos ii. 2, and קְרִיּוֹת, Jer. xlviii. 24, a city, אֱלֹהֵי הַצְּבָאוֹת *the God of hosts*, an expression which is still found in Amos with the article, but which Hosea (xii. 6) already mostly writes without it; הָאָדָם and אָדָם *man* [mankind], *men*, with scarcely any perceptible difference, 1 Sam. xvi. 7, xxiv. 10. *Foreign* [688] names, of obscure meaning, are usually without the article; as, פְּרָת *the Euphrates;* and when poets or prophets happen to form new proper names after their own mind, these words, from the very fact of their being without the article, assume the distinctive mark of most proper names; as, בָּגוֹדָה and מְשֻׁבָה, Jer. iii. On the other hand, every proper name of the new adjectival form [viz. with the termination ִי—, see § 164], especially in the singular, is much more constantly written with the article, which gives it a more lively turn; but even in this case the article may gradually disappear; *e.g.* הַיְבוּסִי, and poetically יְבוּסִי *the Jebusite*, as the name of the race, 2 Sam. v. 6, 8; פְּלִשְׁתִּים and הַפְּלִשְׁתִּים *the Philistines*, 1 Sam. xvii. 52 f.; אֲרַמִּים *the Arameans*, 2 Kings viii. 28 f. (which, indeed, through the weakness of א and its vowel, has been changed into הָרַמִּים in 2 Chron. xxii. 5; see § 72*c*). Moreover, a proper name which is only in a state of transition to the complete loss of the article, is somewhat more easily preserved against the loss, through the influence of a preceding word, as with the construct state (according to

§ 290*b*); *e.g.* שֵׁבֶט הַמְּנַשֶּׁה *the tribe of Manasseh,* Deut. iii. 13, though מְנַשֶּׁה, when used alone, no longer takes the article; so also אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים *the man of God,* Deut. xxxiii. 1; Judg. xiii. 6, 8.

Finally, it is to be added that the Hebrew language, by employing the article, can distinguish individuals in a way different from the Arabic; this construction, however, is rather an innovation; nor was there at any time so free a use of the article with proper names as in the Greek. Thus, though אֱלֹהִים, as the name of the true *God,* like the rarer אֵל, dropped the article, it resumes it, in conformity with the new construction employed by certain writers, for the purpose of giving prominence to the true God; first of all, when it is intended to bring out a contrast, Ex. xix. 19, or after other prefixed particles; as, אֶת הָאֱלֹהִים *with God;* cf. Gen. v. 22, 24, vi. 9, 11 f., cf. Ex. xxiv. 11; afterwards, in somewhat later writers, הָאֱלֹהִים becomes a standing formula, quite as much as the Mohammedan الله;[1] and the later narrator[2] changes אָדָם,

[1] But הָאֵל is always used with new emphasis, *e.g.* with a relative clause; thus, *the* [that] *God* who . . . see Ps. xviii. 31, cf. with vv. 33 and 48, and Ps. lxviii. 20, 21; it never stands absolutely for *God* [*i.e.* without further specification].

[2] [Ewald regards the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua as forming but one composite work, which he calls the Great Book of Origins (not to be confounded with the Book of Origins, simply so called, mentioned below), or Primitive History. The oldest part, he thinks, is the Book of the Wars of Jahve, of which, however, only a few portions remain; next in antiquity he places the fragmentary Biography of Moses, written about a century after the lawgiver: after this, the Book of Covenants, "of which many more fragments have been preserved," and which he ascribes to Samson's time. Later appeared the Book of the Upright, mostly a collection of historical songs. Next, a Levite in Solomon's time, after the dedication of the temple, wrote the Book of Origins, a large and important work, mainly historical, sections of which begin with the words, "These are the origins (תּוֹלְדוֹת, A. V. *generations*) of . . ." Afterwards came the first *prophetic* narrator, also designated the *third* (or, reckoning the whole number of historical works, the *fifth*) historian, who is assumed to have lived in the 10th or 9th century B.C. (*i.e.* about the times of Elijah and Joel), and to have belonged to the northern kingdom. Still later, towards the close of the 9th century, there appeared the fourth historian, or second prophetic narrator. The fifth historian, or third prophetic narrator, is supposed to have belonged to Judah: he first began to collect, and work up into a

in the sense of *Adam*, Gen. v. 3–5, into הָאָדָם, ii. 8 ff. But proper names in common use, which once drop the article, cannot easily resume it, as in Greek.

Pronouns also, whether used alone or as suffixes, are self-defined words, having no need of the article, and yet approximate in meaning to nouns with the article; as, זֶה *this*, מִי *who?* אֲנִי *I*, בְּנִי son *of me* (= my son). Numerals, and other words which indicate relation, and resemble pronouns in their ground-idea, are also readily regarded as definite in themselves; cf. further, p. 35 f.

In accordance with § 236, the *infinitive*, as being too much akin to the verb,[1] does not take the article, except in very special instances, such as, הֲלֹא הִיא הַדַּעַת אֹתִי *is not that to know (knowing) me?* Jer. xxii. 16, where an unusual force lies in the question; moreover, דַּעַת, more than other infinitives, is also used [689] as a substantive. On the contrary, the article is not unsuited to intransitives; כַּחֲשֵׁיכָה *like the darkening*, כָּאוֹרָה[2] *like the dawning*, Ps. cxxxix. 12; and always in the phrase בַּצַּר לִי *when I am in distress*, Ps. xviii. 7, lxvi. 14; Deut. iv. 30; cf. Ps. cxx. 1.

whole, the materials left by his predecessors. Next came "the Deuteronomist," who is alleged to have lived in Egypt during the latter part of Manasseh's reign; but the Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii.) is an interpolation in his work, and the product of an otherwise unknown poet of Jeremiah's time. Lastly, an editor, who lived about the end of the 7th century, brought the work into its present and final form. (See *Hist. of Israel*, i. pp. 63–132, English translation.)

It may be added that Ewald has never found any one to support him wholly in his theory.]

[1] [See footnote to § 304*a*.]

[2] [We quote, from Riehm's (second) edition of Hupfeld *On the Psalms* (vol. i. pp. 445–6), the following excellent *Rules regarding the use of the Article in comparisons*:—

1. If the *tertium comparationis* is regarded as a property of the *class* formed by the object compared, then כְּ stands with the article before the noun. 2. If, on the contrary, it is regarded merely as a property of *one* or *several individuals* of the class, the article is omitted.

The former construction is usually adopted when the object compared is *simply mentioned*, Isa. i. 18, xxii. 18, xxxiv. 4, etc., but pretty frequently also when there is further added (with or without אֲשֶׁר) a relative clause which states the point of the comparison, cf. Ps. i. 4, xlix. 13, 21, xc. 5 (according to the view indicated by the punctuation), Isa. liii. 7, lxi. 10, 11, etc.; very rarely, on the other hand, when the noun which indicates the

But the article may also be used to distinguish a word which, though it has become an adverb, is restored in virtue of a new force it receives. Thus, the oft-used מְעַט, Lat. *parum*, by taking the article, once more obtains a higher meaning; הַמְעַט *the little* [*one*], *i.e.* he who is little; hence it exactly corresponds with the German *der gering*, Num. xxvi. 54, xxxiii. 54, xxxv. 8; Deut. vii. 7. This is accordingly the same usage as is found exemplified in the Greek ὁ πάνυ.

Finally, it is to be observed that the article may be omitted from an ordinary substantive whose meaning is quite definite, inasmuch as definition may be regarded as implied in the context, and thus superfluous. This is particularly the case with technical terms used in describing boundaries, building materials, etc.; as, וּגְבֻל *and boundary, i.e.* so far, Deut. iii. 16 f.; Josh. xiii. 23, 27, xv. 47; or, רֹחַב *breadth*, for, *the breadth*. When אָרְכּוֹ *its length*, precedes, we expect *its breadth*, or *the breadth*, to follow; but, instead of this, there is merely used the shorter expression *breadth*, as if the context were already sufficient to indicate the reference, Ezek. xli. 2, 4; 2 Chron. iii. 3. This holds especially in compound expressions; as, אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד *the tent of the council*, which is found without the

object compared is further specified by another kind of additional clause, and in this case, too, only when this addition also holds good of the whole class; cf. *e.g.* Ezek. xxxii. 2. The latter construction, on the contrary, is regularly followed when the noun which indicates the object compared is further defined by an additional clause, an adjective, or participle, Isa. xxix. 5, xli. 2; Hos. ii. 5; Ps. i. 3, xxxvii. 35, cxliii. 6, etc.; an adverbial specification, Deut. xxxii. 2*b* (cf. the use of the article in the first part of the verse); Hos. iv. 16; Mic. v. 7, etc.; or a relative clause, mostly without אֲשֶׁר, as Ps. xvii. 12, xxxviii. 14, xlii. 2; Isa. liii. 7, lxi. 10, 18 (in the second comparison); Jer. xxiii. 29, etc.

Of a totally different character are the cases in which there is no real comparison, but the expression of a mere adverbial notion, כְּאָב, כְּגִבּוֹר (*in a fatherly manner, heroically*), where the article would not naturally be used; cf. Job xvi. 14, xxxi. 18; Isa. xlii. 13; Ps. xxxviii. 14*a*; Ex. xxii. 24; Lev. xiv. 35, xxv. 40, etc.: to this class also belongs the passage in Prov. iii. 12, which is usually incorrectly explained.

The use of כְּ makes the nearest approach to that of כַּאֲשֶׁר in Jer. xxxi. 10, כְּרֹעֶה עֶדְרוֹ; but this is scarcely to be regarded as a real exception, for the comparison, strictly speaking, does not even here refer to a proposition, but merely to the subject and object together (to the former in its relation to the latter).]

article throughout the Book of Origins,[1] שַׂר צָבָא *the captain of the host*, 1 Kings xvi. 16, and *infra*, § 292*a*, בֵּית מֶלֶךְ *the king's house*, 1 Kings xvi. 18.[2]

d. Thus all *nouns* used in connected discourse are *definite* or *indefinite*, either from their own nature, *i.e.* in consequence of the meaning in which they are used; or from choice, *i.e.* through their assumption of the article: and every substantive in a sentence must necessarily be considered as standing in either of these two relations. But this variability in the condition of nouns, whether as definite (through assumption of the article, or in virtue of their own meaning) or freely indefinite, is of very great importance and significance; because it must also exert a reflex influence on the surrounding words, and because a definite noun, especially one which is necessarily such, has much more weight and force in a sentence than one which is not defined. This contrast will be found to reach through a large portion of the sentence, and with it there is associated the equally important antithesis between a noun which indicates an *animate*, and another which signifies an *inanimate* being (§ 172); for, though a definite noun is always of more importance in a sentence than one which is indefinite, what is animate [690] is likewise considered as of much greater importance than that which is inanimate, and hence also as having more need of being distinguished by an outward sign. Several modes of indicating such words have already been treated of elsewhere; but a mark of peculiar importance in this case is found in the use of אוֹת or אֶת־ as the sign of the accusative (see § 207*c*; [Ges. § 117, 2; Gr. § 270]). This mark is—

(1.) *Necessary* only in the case of personal pronouns, when these cannot appear in the *suffix-form* (see § 247 f.; [Dav. § 31; Ges. §§ 57–61; Gr. §§ 101–106]); for, in these pronouns, the distinction between what is dependent and what is independent has become so complete, that, when the idea of dependence is to be expressed, they must necessarily appear as suffixes; and when, on account of external diffi-

[1] [For an explanation of what Ewald means by this, see note at foot of p. 32.]

[2] Certain Greek writers, such as Paul and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (to cite examples from the New Testament), omit the article, as if they were following the style adopted by stone-cutters.

culties, the suffix cannot be attached to the verb itself, it is joined with את. Thus (*a*) it may be necessary, for the sake of *emphasis*, to place the accusative of the pronoun before the verb, or quite by itself; as, אֹתְךָ הָרַגְתִּי *thee I would have slain*, Num. xxii. 33; Jer. vii. 19. (*b*) When a verb has two objects, both of which, however, are personal pronouns, the second must stand by itself, since the verb in Hebrew can take but one suffix;[1] as, הִרְאַנִי אֹתוֹ *he caused me to see* [= showed me] *him;* so also with the infinitive construct; as, בִּרְאֹתָם אֹתוֹ *in their seeing* [= when they saw] *him.* (*c*) Moreover, with the infinitive in several cases; thus, with the infinitive absolute, because this form (see § 240) is too rigid to accept such additions, 1 Sam. ii. 28; this is the case also with the infinitive construct, when a nearer noun must be put first (§ 304*a*), as, דְּרֹשׁ אָחִיךָ אֹתוֹ *thy brother's seeking it,* Deut. xxii. 2, or when a suffix is to be distinguished as an accusative, Gen. iv. 15 (according to § 307*b*). But there is manifested, under other circumstances also, a constantly increasing tendency to separate the accusative of the pronoun from the verb, even when no urgent necessity exists.

(2.) The sign אֶת is also pretty often prefixed to *substantives,* especially when they *precede* the verb, or even under other circumstances; its actual use, however, is very variable and limited. For (*a*) it is employed only before *definite* nouns, and even then, more before names of *persons* than names of things; because such words, being possessed of more force and independence, are also apt to become more strongly and distinctly subordinated.[2] Examples are, *they anointed* אֶת־דָּוִד *David; they brought* אֶת־אָבִיו *his father; we saw* אֶת־הָאָרֶץ *the land;* אֶת־מִי *whom?* Isa. vi. 8 (but it is not used with מָה *what?*); אֶת־זֶה *this* [fellow, *or* thing]; אֶת־אֲשֶׁר *whom,* or, very definitely, *that which,* Gen. ix. 24. Also (*b*) with particles which have a certain fundamental affinity, in nature and use, with pronouns, inasmuch as, like the latter, they merely refer

[1] In Arabic and Ethiopic, on the other hand, two different suffixes may be attached to one verb, at least if arranged in suitable order; see Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* § 674; [Wright's *Arab. Gram.* i. § 187].

[2] Cf. something very similar in the use of the accusative-sign in such different families of speech as the Turkish and the Finnic (*Zeitschr. für Sprachw.* i. p. 114), and the *z* . . . in Armenian.

to persons and things; hence with כֹּל (cf. 265*b*), as, [691] אֶת־כֹּל *the whole*, all; אֶת־כֹּל עוֹף *all fowls* (according to § 286*e*), Gen. i. 21, 29, 30, viii. 21, ix. 3; Deut. ii. 34, iii. 6; Judg. vii. 8; 2 Sam. vi. 1; Ezek. xxvii. 5; Eccles. xii. 14; Esth. ii. 3.[1] (*c*) With אַחֵר *another*, Jer. xvi. 13. (*d*) With אֶחָד *one*, Num. xvi. 15; 1 Sam. ix. 3, xxvi. 20 (similarly, with other numerals joined to their substantives, Num. vii. 7 f.; 2 Sam. xv. 16; 1 Kings vi. 16; according to § 287*i*). (*e*) When the singular stands for the whole species; as, אִישׁ *a man, any person, everybody*, Ex. xxi. 28; cf. similar cases in Lev. vii. 8, xx. 14; 2 Sam. iv. 11. (*f*) With the *participle*, in the sense of *he who*, as in Ezek. ii. 2. Lastly, (*g*) with a common noun which has not the article, either, 1st, because the latter, in accordance with poetic usage, is not considered necessary; as, אֶת־יָעֵף *the weary one*, Isa. l. 4, xli. 7; Job xiii. 25; 2 Sam. v. 24 (prophetic address); Ezek. xiii. 20; Eccles. vii. 7; or, 2d, because it [viz. the article] is not employed in prose either, as 1 Sam. xxiv. 6, where כָּנָף is merely a shorter expression for כְּנַף הַמְּעִיל, cf. ver. 5, 2 Sam. xviii. 18, where אֲשֶׁר at once introduces the more exact specification. Thus it is only through the use of this אֵת that it becomes always evident when a word, though without the article, has the meaning of one which is more definite,—as if the mode in which the article is related to the noun had become fixed at an earlier period in the history of the language, while the use of אֵת, so far as it falls to be considered here, is the most recent as well as living and flexible element in the language as it now remains to us.

Moreover, אֵת is found more frequently with the nearer completions [of the predicate, *i.e.* its objects] than with the more remote (Gen. xvii. 11, 14, 25, cf. ver. 24), and never with adverbs or adverbial expressions; rarely even with specifications of time, Ex. xiii. 7, Deut. ix. 25, and with indications of motion *to* a place, Judg. xix. 18. Finally, it is to be borne in mind that these remarks especially apply only to prose in its more fully expressed form, the particle being much more rarely used in poetry: and as, even in prose, it may be used in one case and omitted in another, Gen. xvii. 11, 25, cf. 24, so the form of expression may vary, in accordance with the change in the

[1] In Armenian, *zok*, *any one* [accus.], Eznik iv. 1, is precisely similar.

members of the sentence, Lev. xix. 27. But even before proper names also, אֵת is frequently omitted, especially in earlier times, and in poetic language; thus, it nowhere occurs in the song, Ex. xv., nor in the songs of Deborah, Judg. v., nor Ps. vii. 18, lxvi. 8, lxviii. 27, ciii. 21 f., and (if the reading be correct) Judg. viii. 33.

It is very remarkable that Hebrew gradually begins, by means of אֵת, to subordinate, as an accusative in the sentence, every noun concerning which something new is to be stated, without being decidedly set down as the subject; in such a case it signifies *as regards* . . . (Lat. *quoad*),[1] and approaches in its use to that of לְ, as described § 310*a*. Thus, it is employed in a transition to something new, Ezek. vi. 9*b*, xvii. 21, xliv. 3; Isa. lvii. 15; Neh. ix. 19; when a thought is briefly added, Judg. xx. 44, 46; Ezek. xiv. 22; Jer. xlv. 4; [692] 2 Sam. xxi. 22;[2] at a complete break in the sentence, so that וְ resumptive (§ 348*a*) is afterwards required, Jer. xxiii. 33; Isa. lvii. 12. Similarly, אֵת begins to be employed in Hebrew, instead of some more specific preposition, for indicating generally any *casus obliquus*, Ezek. xxxvii. 19, xliii. 17; Zech. xii. 10; Jer. xxxviii. 16, *Kethib*, 1 Kings vi. 5 (with סָבִיב *around*, cf. § 292*d*); especially after וְ copulative, before a circumstantial clause (§ 341*a*), which thereby becomes more distinctly subordinate, Jer. xxxvi. 22; 2 Kings vi. 5; or else after a copulative וְ which merely appends something following, to show it is less independent than what precedes,[3] Num. iii. 26; Josh. xvii. 11; 1 Kings xi. 25; 1 Sam. xvii. 34, xxvi. 16; Jer. xxvii. 8; Ezek. xx. 16; 2 Chron. xxxi. 17; cf. ver. 16; Neh. ix. 34. In the sentence כִּי אֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר שָׂנֵאתִי *for, all this* (accus.) it is *that I hate!* Zech. viii. 17, the active verb at the end preponderates; and similarly, Deut. xi. 2,

[1] Similarly, אֵת is used to mean *as regards*, in making further subdivisions and explanations, Mishna, *Berachoth*, iii. 1.

[2] We may, of course, in this passage also read יֻלְּדוּ instead of יִלְּדוּ (see § 205); at least, the reading has been changed in 1 Chron. xx 8.

[3] As the accusative may be used in Arabic after و *and*, when it means *together with*, Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* § 564. But the reading in Gen. xlix. 25 is probably incorrect; see *History of Israel*, i. 409 [Eng. transl.]. Hence, in the case of this וְאֵת, we cannot regard it as a preposition, § 217*h*, as if it properly meant *and with*.

לֹא אֶת־בְּנֵיכֶם is an abrupt form of address, *not your children* (I mean); cf. § 363*c*.

But this particle can never indicate the nominative; however, the general meaning of the discourse alone often elicits the accusative, since the active form of construction always intrudes itself as the most natural; as, יֻתַּן אֶת־הָאָרֶץ *detur* (= *dandum est*, let them give) *terram*, Num. xxxii. 5 (see § 295*b*); also, in such forms of expression as אַל־יֵרַע בְּעֵינֶיךָ אֶת־הַדָּבָר *let it not be evil in thine eyes, i.e.* look not on *this thing* as evil, 2 Sam. xi. 25; 1 Sam. xx. 13; Josh. xxii. 17; Neh. ix. 32.[1]

e. The Aramaic avails itself, to a more limited extent, of the preposition לְ, in nearly the same cases in which the Hebrew employs this את to designate the accusative, thus using the dative also for the stronger accusative; in this, both languages but evince a true philological instinct when they employ their different means for the same end. This use of לְ[2] is also found here and there in some Aramaizing writers, Ps. lxix. 6, cxvi. 16, cxxix. 3; Jer. xl. 2; Lam. iii. 51, iv. 5; 1 Chron. v. 26, xvi. 37, xxix. 20, 22; 2 Chron. v. 11, xxiv. 12 (where, as is seen from the arrangement of the members, [693] it is interchanged with the unmarked accusative), xxv. 10; Ezra viii. 24; Neh. ix. 37; Dan. xi. 38 (twice).[3]

278*a*. The absence of the article from a noun which is capable of receiving it, sufficiently expresses of itself that the word is meant to be individualized, or to be taken indefinitely; as, אִישׁ *a man;* hence, even מְעַט (§ 299*c*) in such a connection may have the force of an adjective; as, בֵּין רַב לִמְעַט

[1] That the later instances must be regarded in this light becomes the more certain when we compare the very similar case with הָיָה לִי (see § 295*d*). However, the result attained through all this is, that אֵת never becomes wholly unfaithful to its meaning, and never absolutely indicates the nominative. This, of course, would be the case in 2 Kings xviii. 30, but the correct reading here is given in Isa. xxxvi. 15. In Dan. ix. 13, also, אֵת־כֹּל is perhaps to be taken in more of a subordinate way.

[2] [An excellent treatise on this particle has lately been published by Dr. Fried. Giesebrecht (*Die hebräische Präposition Lamed*, Halle 1876). For a fuller discussion of the point mentioned in the text, see p. 79 ff. of the monograph.]

[3] But לְכֻלְּכֶם, 1 Sam. xxii. 7, probably means *each one of you*, according to the signification of לְ given at p. 559; and as to Ezek. xxvi. 3, cf. the note made on the passage [in Ewald's Commentary].

between great and little, Num. xxvi. 56. Consequently, the indefinite plural also may contain the idea of *some*; as, מִקֵּץ יָמִים *after some days,* Gen. iv. 3; 1 Kings xvii. 7; עוּל יָמִים *a suckling of some days,* Isa. lxv. 20, cf. Ps. xxxix. 6; Dan. xi. 8, 13, 33. This seems a possible rendering even in the case of proper names; as, עִבְרִים *some Hebrews,* 1 Sam. xiii. 7, xxiii. 19.

Rarely, and mostly in other books than the Pentateuch, is אֶחָד *one,* employed for this purpose, as in modern languages. First, it is placed in construction with the plural; as, אַחַת הַנְּבָלוֹת *one of the foolish women,* a foolish woman, Job ii. 10; then it is placed after the noun, as an adjective, אִישׁ אֶחָד *a man,* Judg. xiii. 2; still more rarely is this word applied to things; as, סַל אֶחָד *a basket,* Ex. xxix. 3; Gen. xxii. 13 (reading אֶחָד); in one instance it is prefixed, as in Aramaic, Dan. viii. 13. When men are spoken of, this idea may also be expressed by the addition of אִישׁ *one,* אֲנָשִׁים *some,* or even by the insertion of such a word in a series, 1 Sam. xxxi. 3.

Generally, it is to be observed that the Hebrew, especially in the condensed language of poetry, has great liberty in the way of making every singular indefinite; as, רֹב יוֹעֵץ *a multitude of counsellor*[s], Prov. xi. 14, xxiv. 6, so that, in our modern languages, we must at least put the indefinite plural for it, Job xxvii. 16; Ps. xii. 2; and even in the Hebrew itself, the plural is readily interchanged with it, as, מֶלֶךְ and מְלָכִים *kings,* Prov. xvi. 10, 12–15; חָלָל *one slain,* and חַלְלֵיכֶם *your slain* ones, Ezek. vi. 4, 7, xi. 6. (Cf. an important consequence arising from this, § 319*a*.) But the short singular is particularly convenient in the case of designations for whole classes; as, אִישׁ רַגְלִי, according to § 164*a*, almost our *infantry,* אִישׁ חַיִל *man of war, soldier,* which, in 1 Chron. xxvi. 8, actually stands in the predicate for the plural; cf. vers. 7, 9, בָּחוּר *young man, i.e.* choice soldiers (see § 290*c*).

b. The indefinite meaning, however, also attaches itself especially to some nouns which are most frequently put intentionally in this short form; thus, דָּבָר *word* (thing), which exactly expresses our *something;* cf. § 286*f*. Such a word, also, may again assume different shades of meaning, varying with the particular passages in which it occurs; אִישׁ, used without special force, is very often our [indefinite] *man, one* [*a person;* Ger. *man, einer;* Fr. *on*], Prov. xii. 14, xiii. 2;

Job xii. 14; but when it must also indicate antithesis or emphasis, like [694] our *one*, in the sense of *every one*, it is put more strongly, appears as the subject, Ex. xvi. 19, and, instead of becoming subordinate, rather presents an abrupt construction; as, *every one his half*, *i.e.* the half of every one, Gen. xv. 10, ix. 5 (*from the hand of every one's brother*), Job i. 4; cf. Gen. xlii. 25, xlix. 28; Num. xvii. 17, xxvi. 54; 1 Sam. ii. 33; Ezek. xxii. 6, and the cases cited in § 301*b*.

c. It is shown in §§ 282*a* and 294*c* how the preposition מִן can, in various ways, be used in a sentence to mark what is indefinite; but it is to be observed that it also thrusts itself in before similar particles (according to § 270*b*) merely for the purpose of particularizing the idea as strongly as possible; as, מִכֹּל *all whatever*, Gen. vii. 22, ix. 10, xvii. 12, Cant. iii. 6;[1] מֵאֶחָד *any one whatever*, Deut. xv. 7; Ezek. xviii. 10. Moreover, in later usage, by combining קְצָת *the end* (the sum) with מִן, especial prominence is assigned to the idea of the individual in contrast with the multitude, so that מִקְּצָתָם, in any part of the sentence, may mean *some*, Dan. i. 2, 5, 15, 18; cf. how מִקְצָת is interchanged with מִן in the same expression, Neh. vii. 10; Ezra ii. 68. Cf. also מִשַּׂעֲרַת, 1 Sam. xiv. 45; 2 Sam. xiv. 11. Independent sentences of the kind may next be formed by the further addition of יֵשׁ *there is* (or *are*) . . .; as, יֵשׁ מִבְּנֹתֵינוּ נִכְבָּשׁוֹת *there are of our daughters enslaved*, *i.e.* some of our daughters have been enslaved, Neh. v. 5. But if distinction is to be drawn between the different parts of whole, which has been already mentioned, it is sufficient to refer to these by using מִן combined with a suffix; as, מֵהֶם . . . מֵהֶם *they partly . . . partly* (properly, some of them, and others of them); so much does מִן, especially in Aramaizing language, in itself express the idea of partition.

d. Finally, another inducement for leaving a substantive undefined consists in the fact that, combined with a verb, it merely presents a compound verbal idea; hence it gives up, as much as possible, its noun-form, and consequently also the article, attaching itself as closely as it can to its verb. Just for this reason the construction is met with only in certain

[1] Just like مِن كُلّ, which, according to Sura xxx. 58, may also be used in other than negative propositions.

current phrases, and these more belonging to a later than an earlier period of the language: we see below (§ 283*d*) that עָשָׂה כָלָה *to destroy,* and כַּלֵּה occur very seldom, except in this expression, especially in prose; similar expressions are נָתַן בְּיָד *to give* one *in hand, i.e.* give him over, deliver him up, 1 Sam. xxvi. 23, 2 Chron. xxv. 20, and its contrary שִׁלַּח מִיָּד, 1 Kings xx. 42; נָתַן יָד *to give a hand, i.e.* bind oneself in an engagement to another, 2 Chron. xxx. 8, and its opposite נָתַן עֹרֶף *give neck, i.e.* turn stubbornly away, flee, 2 Chron. xxix. 6, cf. Ps. xviii. 41; הֵרִים יָד *raise hand, i.e.* rebel, 1 Kings xi. 26 f., like the more poetic [695] נָשָׂא קֶרֶן *lift horn,* which has the same meaning, Zech. ii. 4. To the same class belong the phrases שִׂים עַל לֵב, like our *to lay to heart,* Jer. xii. 11, Mal. ii. 2; שָׁאַל לוֹ לְשָׁלוֹם *he asked him after* (his) *health,* 2 Sam. viii. 10, where לוֹ (according to § 292) must be regarded as a circumlocution for the genitive. With regard to the similar construction הֵשִׁיב דָּבָר or עָנָה דָבָר *to return word,* reply, Num. xxii. 8, 2 Sam. xxiv. 13, 1 Kings xii. 6, 9, 16, 2 Kings xxii. 9, 20, Neh. ii. 20, see § 283*d*.

FIRST KIND OF WORD-GROUPS.

The Verb with its Sphere of free Subordination.

279*a*. The verb occupies such an important and prominent position in the sentence (see § 277), and has such a weight of meaning connected with it, that, in most propositions, it seems like a foundation-stone round which are placed many others which depend on it. It may subordinate to itself one or several nouns, or even another verb; but every word which it governs it subordinates, not directly and strictly (*i.e.* as in the case of the construct state), but only indirectly and freely, inasmuch as it is in itself so independent and so self-contained as a member of the sentence. Hence the subordinated word takes the form of the accusative whenever this is indicated by an outward sign (see §§ 203–206); but where this case is not shown by any external mark, the subordination is indicated merely by the whole sense as given in the context. Even the prepositions are, in themselves (see § 204*a* [and p. 28, note]), words of this kind, placed in the accusative; but since (see § 217 ff.) they indicate the relations of a noun in the proposition

more exactly than an ordinary noun which is simply put in the accusative, much depends in this, as in other similar cases of word-grouping, on the way in which the verb subordinates a word,—whether [directly] by means of the simple accusative, or [mediately] by prepositions.

Since the *participle* and (though more remotely) the *adjective* also, are derived from the verb, similar phenomena appear in them; even the participle, however, may easily be construed in the proposition more as a noun than as a verb (see § 292*c*). How far the *infinitive* is construed more as a verb, or more as a noun, is further discussed in § 305.

The Verb with the Accusative and with Prepositions.

The ordinary accusative forms the proper completion and extension of the verb (§§ 204–6 [and p. 34, note]), though, of course, in different ways; and all these modes may happen to present themselves together in one sentence, and round the same verb. In the Hebrew, this combination of a verb with a noun, subordinated to it in all its possible modes (according to § 203*b*), is more generally employed than in the Indo-Germanic, and especially to a much greater extent than in our modern languages; but since, in the case of many ideas, prepositions may be employed almost equally well (see § 217 [Gr. § 272, 2]), we must here show [696] how the prepositions creep into the shorter construction with the mere accusative, and which of them, in particular, most readily interchange their construction with that of the simple accusative.

I. When the idea contained in the verb is to be defined in the most general way, as to its relation, or as to its way and manner, the mere accusative, without the addition of a special preposition, is for the most part sufficient in Hebrew. Thus—

1. An *adjective* may be subordinated to the verb; but, along with this subordination, (*a*) there may be combined a reference of the whole to the *subject;* as, יָנוּס עָרוֹם *he flees naked,*[1] Amos ii. 16, and in a subordinate clause (§ 284*a*), *he sees the moon moving*

[1] In Latin, since the reference, in such cases, is wholly to the subject, the nominative may be used [*nudus fugit*]; whereas the Arabic shows that, in the Semitic languages, it is really the accusative which is employed. Yet it is to be observed that, while the Hebrew does not, for the most part

יָקָר *glorious,* Job xxxi. 26, cf. Gen. xxxiii. 18 (where we see that the same construction may be found in prose also); Ps. xv. 2; Prov. xxiv. 15; or (*b*) the adjective may be more intimately connected with the mere predication in the verb, in such a way that, in Latin, an adverb could be used; as, מַר בָּכָה *to weep bitter, i.e.* bitterly, Isa. xxxiii. 7, Lat. *amarè flere;* קָרָא מָלֵא *to call full, i.e.* aloud, Jer. xii. 6; hence an adjective may also stand along with another, as if it were subordinated to it alone; as, יָבֵשׁ מָלֵא *quite dry,* Nah. i. 10. In the latter of these two cases, the adjective may quite as readily be used in the *feminine, i.e.* the neuter; as, זָעַק מָרָה *to cry bitterly,* Ezek. xxvii. 30; רַב or רַבַּת שָׂבְעָ *to be very full,* Ps. cxxiii. 3 f.; or, if it is intended to describe an action which may possibly make itself perceived in many different ways, the *fem. plural* may also be used instead in poetry, הִרְעִים נִפְלָאוֹת *to thunder wondrously,* Job xxxvii. 5; cf. Dan. viii. 24 and Ps. lxv. 6 (cf. § 204*b* [Ges. § 100, 2*c;* Gr. § 235, 2 (3)]).

2. A *substantive* may be subordinated; and in such a case it is almost always indefinite, *i.e.* without the article, because it is intended to specify merely the way and manner. But this, again, may be done in many ways:—

(*a*) For the purpose of more closely specifying the extent, amount, or duration, when a verb of similar meaning is employed; as, *the water rose fifteen cubits,* Gen. vii. 20; *he lived a hundred and thirty years,* Gen. v. 3; cf. especially, 2 Sam. xiv. 26; *the city that goes out* [to war] אֶלֶף *a thousand, i.e.* a thousand men strong, Amos v. 3. In the same way we can say, *he has served thee for the double hire of a hireling, i.e.* as if, instead of him, thou hadst been obliged to keep two hirelings, Deut. xv. 18; also, when the verb, on account of the connection, takes [697] the participial form; as, הֶחָתוּם הַמִּצְוָה *that which was sealed in accordance with the* (well-known legal) *requirements,* Jer. xxxii. 11.

c. (*b*) Every single substantive may, certainly, be subordinated to a verb, for the purpose of more exactly specifying the manner, provided there be no restriction arising from the essential meaning of each: this, however, holds good in its fullest

(like the Arabic), affix an external mark to the accusative, it allows the latter, especially in poetry, a much wider choice of position than the Arabic does.

extent only in Arabic; in Hebrew, greater restrictions exist. For (1) it is only certain verbs which have retained this power in a special degree; thus, הָלַךְ *to go*, may be combined with רוֹמָה (*altitudinem*) *erect*, Mic. ii. 3; שְׁחוֹחַ *bowed down*, Isa. lx. 14; מַעֲדַנֹּת *with pleasure, confidence*, 1 Sam. xv. 32; שְׁבִי *captive* (also more definitely, by employing a preposition, בַּשְּׁבִי, *in captivity*); קְרִי *against* (also בְּקְרִי, Lat. *occursu*); שְׁפִי *quite alone.*[1] However, (2) it is only certain substantives, at least in prose, which are subordinated in this way whenever the sense demands it; and these, moreover, have usually been preserved only through this use of them in the language as adverbs; thus, מְאֹד *very* (which, however, is still combined with בְּ in the expression בִּמְאֹד מְאֹד *very much*, § 322*b*); בֶּטַח *securely*, Judg. viii. 11 (though this, according to § 217*d*, and more in harmony with Hebrew usage, is also written לָבֶטַח, like לָנֶצַח or, more shortly, נֶצַח *for ever*); מְעַט *little*. Others appear only in the transition-state; as, אֱמוּנָה or אֱמֶת *firm, faithful, sure*, Ex. xvii. 12; cf. Ps. xxxvii. 3, cxix. 75, Jer. xxiii. 28, שָׁלוֹם *well* (according to § 296*d*); cf. on the whole subject, § 204*b*. But poets use more freedom here, and briefly subordinate, in this way, many substantives which are never so employed in prose; thus, לַשֶּׁקֶר *to the lie*, i.e. *in vain*, 1 Sam. xxv. 21, they at once shorten into שֶׁקֶר, Ps. cxix. 78, and in the same sense הֶבֶל *vainly*, Job xxi. 34; similarly, מָרוֹם *high* (properly, to the height), Ps. lvi. 3, cf. xcii. 9; also, constructions such as, דָּרַךְ עֹז *to step forth with pride*, Judg. v. 21; אֹהֲבֵם נְדָבָה *I love them* with willingness = *readily*, Hos. xiv. 5, xii. 15; Jer. xxxi. 7; cf. § 283. (3) Only seldom do they venture so far as to subordinate the instrument to the verb, in a passive construction; as, תְּאֻכְּלוּ חֶרֶב *ye shall be destroyed by the sword*, Isa. i. 20; Prov. xix. 23; of course, the *construct* state may very well be employed, אֻכַּל חֶרֶב *destroyed by sword* (see § 288). To the same category, strictly speaking, belongs the old sacred mode of expression found in Isa. i. 12, Ex. xxiii. 15, etc., נִרְאָה פְּנֵי יְהוָֹה *he appeared before Jehovah* (properly, he was seen by the face of God), which people in earlier times preferred to say, instead of "he saw the face of God."[2] [698] (4) Lastly, an indefinite plural may also be subordinated to a

[1] See the *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wiss.* x. pp. 46–49.

[2] It is true that the mere preposition אֶל, which is employed, in other cases, of men before whom one appears (Lev. xiii. 19; 1 Kings xviii. 1).

verb; as, *the Arameans went out* גְּדוּדִים *by bands, i.e.* in bands, 2 Kings v. 2; and in poetic language, *she sinks* פְּלָאִים *by wonders, i.e.* as it were, *in many a wonderful way*, Lam. i. 9.

d. (*c*) By means of an amplifying substantive in the accusative, even whole combinations of words, of moderate extent, may be subordinated to the predicate, in order to specify it more closely, as soon as an internal connection can be established between their meanings; in our [modern] languages, such combinations are subordinated by means of a more definite oblique case, or by means of a preposition. Thus, *to speak, cry, weep* קוֹל גָּדוֹל *with a loud voice* (Ger. *starker Stimme*), *i.e.* aloud, 1 Kings viii. 55, Deut. v. 19; *they gathered themselves together* פֶּה אֶחָד *with one mouth* (Ger. *eines Mundes*), *i.e.* unanimously, Josh. ix. 2, Zeph. iii. 9, Ps. lxxxiii. 6; *he who works* כַּף רְמִיָּה *with a slack hand* (Ger. *träger Hand*), *i.e.* sluggishly, Prov. x. 4, vi. 12; cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. A whole substantive-clause, even, of small extent, or a circumstantial clause, may be subordinated in the same way; as, *I have seen God* פָּנִים אֶל־פָּנִים *face to face*, i.e. as near as it is possible, visibly, Gen. xxxii. 31; Ex. xxxiii. 11; cf. further, §§ 341, 288. In particular, the kind of *dress* is briefly indicated in this way, Prov. vii. 10; the style of *sculpture*, Ps. cxliv. 12, Deut. iv. 16–18, 23, 25; the manner of arranging genealogical lists, Neh. xii. 22 f., and similar arts or occupations in life; also the nature of a custom, Ps. cxxii. 4. An abrupt, half-explanatory clause of this kind may likewise be introduced by וְ *and*, as in Isa. xxx. 27 (וְכֹבֶד).

A very similar construction is presented when the completion [of the predicate] refers more to the *subject*; as, *ye shall be left* מְתֵי מִסְפָּר (*as*) *few people*, Deut. iv. 27; *Jerusalem shall be inhabited* פְּרָזוֹת (*like*) *villages, i.e.* in the manner of villages, Zech. ii. 8. Cf. many similar examples in Job xvi. 9, xviii. 13, xxiv. 5, xxxiv. 20; Jer. xxxi. 8, xxxvii. 1, xxiii. 5; also the case in Gen. xv. 16.

e. The more, however, all such expressions, in Hebrew and Arabic, attach themselves to the sentence without any external mark of the accusative, the more easily do feminines at least,

used interchangeably with this פְּנֵי; but it does not therefore follow that, in this ancient mode of expression, פְּנֵי merely stands for לִפְנֵי *before*; cf. *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wiss.* xi. p. 42 f.

and especially adjectives which are essentially necessary for the completion [of the predicate], assume the construct form, as if in relation to the whole sentence; this takes place, first of all, in the current of the discourse, and hence also before the verb, but it may even occur at the end of the sentence; thus, רַבַּת *enough, very,* Ps. lxv. 10, cxx. 6; מְאַת *a hundred times,* Eccles. viii. 12 (see §§ 204*b*, 269*b* [Ges. § 100, 2*c*; Gr. § 235, 3 (3)]).

280*a*. 3. The most remarkable fact, however, in connection with this subject is, that the *infinitive* also is very often used in this way for further explanation of the nature of the chief action in the sentence. And there is nothing in the nature of the current [*i.e.* the *construct,* see § 237*a*] infinitive to prevent its being employed in this way; as, *he who rules* יִרְאַת אֱלֹהִים, *so that he fears God,* in the ancient psalm, 2 Sam. xxiii. 3: this use of the bare infinitive, however (see § *d*), has become very rare. Here, the widest use is rather made of the *infinitive absolute* (see § 240), which, accordingly, at least in this case, must be viewed as subordinated to the sentence in the accusative: its meaning, in such a connection, [699] can scarcely be rendered more fitly than by the Latin gerund in *-do* (or the *comitative* of the Sanskrit infinitive in *-tvá*), or more briefly among ourselves [in German and English] than by the participle; the Semitic tongues, on the other hand, make very little use of their active participle in such modifications of the verbal idea. In this way, the further explanation may even be followed by the absolute infinitive of the same verb;[1] as, *we destroyed them . . .* (after several words) הַחֲרֵם *destroying* (so that we destroyed) *every inhabited city,* etc., Deut. iii. 6. A new verb may also be subordinated thus in the infinitive absolute; as, *God shall smite them . . .* (after a break), נָגוֹף וְרָפוֹא *smiting and healing, i.e.* so that He also heals them again, Isa. xix. 22, vii. 11; Jer. xii. 17; 1 Kings xx. 37: on passages like Isa. xxxi. 5, cf. § 350*a*. Or there is added, for further explanation, a different verb, or even two; as, *they slandered me . . .* חָרֹק *gnashing* against me with their teeth, Ps. xxxv. 15 f.; *I will accomplish it,* הָחֵל וְכַלֵּה *beginning and ending, i.e.* fully, from beginning to end, 1 Sam. iii. 12; 2 Sam. viii. 2; Gen. xxi. 16, xxx. 32; Ex. xxx. 36, xxxiii. 7; Deut. ix. 21, xxvii. 8; Isa. xxx. 14; Jer. xxii. 19; Hab. iii. 13;

[1] [See note at foot of next page.]

Zech. vii. 3 (Mal. ii. 16); in particular, הַרְבֵּה *to do much*, and הֵיטֵב *to do well*, are very often placed in this way after a verb, even an infinitive absolute, Neh. iii. 33. See further, § *c* and § 351*c*; cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* ii. p. 40, 134.

This whole construction assumes its strongest form when, strictly speaking, another subject is assumed for the subordinated infinitive absolute; as, *he is buried* סָחוֹב *in such a way that they drag him about* (Ger. *sodass man ihn schleppt*), Jer. xxii. 19; in the same way also are explained the words in Jer. xxxi. 2 (הָלוֹךְ *so that* [other] *people went*). It is difficult, however, to prove from Ezek. i. 14 that such infinitives absolute may be placed after a subject simply for the purpose of indicating an accessory circumstance.

b. When, however, the same verb is immediately repeated in the infinitive absolute, and this in such a way that both words are more closely connected so as to form one complete idea, this peculiarly Hebraistic construction marks, in a picturesque fashion, the constant progress, or else the complete, indubitable existence of the action.[1] Hence, according to the difference of its connection with the rest of the sentence, it may signify *completely, utterly, continually, indubitably*; as, שִׁמְעוּ שָׁמוֹעַ *listen —listen, i.e.* listen attentively, Job xiii. 17, xxi. 2, xxxvii. 2; or *listen continually*, Isa. vi. 9; הָלַךְ הָלוֹךְ *he is gone, gone, i.e.* quite gone, 2 Sam. iii. 24; אַעַלְךָ גַם עָלֹה *up also will I assuredly bring thee* (not merely down), Gen. xlvi. 4, xix. 9, xxxi. 15; Num. xi. 15, 32, xvi. 13, xxiii. 11, xxiv. 10; Josh. xxiv. 10, vii. 7; Judg. v. 23; 2 Kings v. 11; Jer. vi. 29, xxii. 10, xxiii. 17; Zech. viii. 21; Dan. xi. 10. Moreover, especially when a verb of motion is used, another verb may be added on, in this way, by means of וְ; as, יָצָא יָצֹא וָשׁוֹב *he went repeatedly out and in*; הָלַךְ הָלוֹךְ וּבָכֹה *he* [700] *went on, weeping*, Gen. viii. 7; Josh. vi. 13; Judg. xiv. 9; 1 Sam. vi. 12; 2 Sam. iii. 16, v. 10 (1 Chron. xi. 9); 2 Sam. xv. 30, xvi. 5, 13; 2 Kings ii. 11 (Joel ii. 26, without a verb of motion). In this con-

[1] [A short but valuable paper on this subject has been written by A. Rieder (*Die Verbindung des Infinitivus absolutus mit dem Verbum desselben Stammes im Hebräischen*, Leipzig 1872), who cites and classifies all the instances which occur in the Old Testament. See also Nägelsbach, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 92 ff.]

struction, הָלַךְ *to go*, often expresses merely the constant growth, increase of a thing; as, וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלֹךְ וְגָדֵל *and he gradually became greater and greater*, Gen. xxvi. 13; Judg. iv. 24. Lastly, many infinitives of this kind may be inserted with almost an adverbial sense; by this means the expression is but still further polished and modified, as, וַיָּשֻׁבוּ הָלוֹךְ וָשׁוֹב, *and they gradually returned*, Gen. viii. 3, xii. 9; שָׁלַחְתִּי הַשְׁכֵּם וְשָׁלוֹחַ *I sent ever earnestly* (lit. *early*), Jer. vii. 13, xxix. 19.[1]

The leading verb may also be repeated in the participial form (*e.g.* from הָלַךְ) when it stands too far off, near the beginning, as in Jer. xli. 6; this construction, of course, shows that the participle (which may always be used in German [and English] in a case like this) is closely allied in meaning with such an absolute infinitive, as an expression indicative of duration. The last verb, certainly, may also fall back into the indicative mood instead of the infinitive, Josh. vi. 13, 2 Sam. xvi. 13; but, on the other hand, the participle of the verb placed at the head of the sentence may be continued in that form, ver. 5, Jer. xli. 6, and may even be used instead of the first infinitive, 2 Sam. xv. 30; the second verb also may be put in the participial form, Gen. xxvi. 13; Judg. iv. 24 (where גָּדֵל and קָשֶׁה are intransitive participles). Finally, we have to call attention to the abbreviation of the expression which is effected by the employment of the substantive verb, as, הָיוּ הָלוֹךְ וְחָסוֹר *they gradually decreased*, Gen. viii. 5; a similar result is obtained when the participle is combined with הָיָה (see § 168*c*). On the other hand, the simple expression הוֹלֵךְ וְגָדוֹל, in the sense of *he became greater and greater*, occurs only in Esth. ix. 4; 2 Chron. xvii. 12.

c. This explains how some absolute infinitives have come to be employed as loosely construed adverbs: הַצְנֵעַ לֶכֶת *to walk humbly* with God, Mic. vi. 8; מַהֵר *quickly*, Josh. ii. 5 (but still also used in other places as a finite verb, *e.g.* 1 Sam. xvii. 48); הוֹתֵר *more*, Ex. xxxvi. 7; הַשְׁכֵּם (lit. to rise up early, hence) *diligently*; הֵיטֵב *well, very*, הַפְלֵא *wonderfully*; 2 Chron. ii. 8; all of these words, however, are almost exclusively to be combined with verbs. But, just as all those words which have been reduced to the condition of indeclinable adjectives or

[1] Similarly, Acts xiii. 45: ἀντέλεγον . . . ἀντιλέγοντες καὶ βλασφημοῦντες, according to Cod. D.

adverbs (§ 110*b*) may again be employed in the sentence in a somewhat more inflected form, so is it also with some of these infinitives (§ 240*e*): in particular, הַרְבֵּה *much*, is even joined with nouns; as, עֵצִים הַרְבֵּה *many logs*, Isa. xxx. 33. Hence it is not surprising that this word, in such a connection, should again revert to the form of the infinitive construct הַרְבּוֹת, since this is more closely allied to the noun than the infinitive [701] absolute, and is placed, too, *before* the substantive, as in an actual case of the construct state, Amos iv. 9, though it is also placed after the noun, Prov. xxv. 27.[1] Cf. §§ 294*a*, 296*d*.

d. It is further to be observed, however, in this connection, that the infinitive construct, also, with לְ (according to § 237) may serve as a means of briefly, yet comprehensively, subordinating an action in a sentence; in such a case, the turn in the expression for the most part corresponds to our *so that*, *that*, although the meaning may also be fitly rendered by the Lat. gerund in *-ndo*, or by our active participle. The difference between this infinitive with לְ and the infinitive absolute which we have mentioned is almost always this, that the former maintains a much more free position in the sentence, while the latter, both by its nature and by its position, keeps more closely to the finite verb,—the latter is more of an inflexible, the former more of a plastic word in the sentence. Hence an infinitive, which throughout refuses to enter into close relations with another verb, attaches itself to לְ; as the oft-used לֵאמֹר *to say* (§ 245*b*), *i.e.* so that he says (or *said*, or even *thought*, as in Ex. v. 19), an expression which always refers to words immediately to be quoted.[2] On the other hand, such an infinitive with לְ can never be used for the infinitive absolute in the important cases specified in § *b*. We must not, however, fail to notice that the infinitive with

[1] It would be strange if רַבּוֹת stood for this form in Dan. xi. 41, being construed as subject, with a verb in the plural, and Piel being used instead of Hiphil; but the word is rather to be understood in accordance with what is stated in § 177*f*, note [*i.e.* רַבּוֹת is to be regarded as plur. *masc.*, from רַב, like אָבוֹת *fathers*, from אָב].

[2] The Sanskrit *iti* exactly corresponds in sense to this. As that word is placed after the noun which is to be made prominent, or the expression which is to be regarded as a quotation, so also is our לֵאמֹר placed afterwards,

לְ comes gradually into more frequent use as a means of subordinating a verb which is itself imperfectly inflected, and describes merely secondary circumstances; hence it is even found where the infinitive absolute might be employed with greater force and brevity; as, *they tempted God* לִשְׁאָל [by] *asking* food, Ps. lxxviii. 18, lxiii. 3, ci. 8, civ. 14 f., cxi. 6; Neh. xiii. 18; 1 Chron. xv. 16; 1 Sam. xx. 20, 36. Specially deserving of notice are expressions such as, *they were like gazelles* לְמַהֵר *festinando* (in speeding), 1 Chron. xii. 8, Prov. xxvi. 2; עָשָׂה לְהַפְלִיא *he acted so that he wrought a wonder,* i.e. wonderfully, Joel ii. 26. And, that the explanation of the leading idea in a discourse may be carried on in this way by means of many subordinate verbs, is shown by such cases as Jer. xliv. 7 f. Cf. also § 351*c*.

281*a*. The connection becomes somewhat closer when the accusative expresses what is *contained in* the verbal idea, in such a way that [702] the general relation, showing vitality, becomes more definite, and, as it were, glides smoothly over into the particular. Hence, in this case, as in all the succeeding applications of the accusative, which follow in ascending series, it is never anything else than a substantive which the verb subordinates; this noun, too, may always be at once made definite. To be specific, this takes place—

1. Most naturally and simply when the idea contained in the verb is defined and explained *by itself, i.e.* by means of its own [cognate] substantive, as πόλεμον πολεμεῖν. By this means the idea contained in the verb may simply revert on itself,—may be contained in and complete within itself; as, דִּבֶּר דָּבָר *to speak a word* [Ger. *Reden reden*] (which, in a different context, and with a different use of the expression, may also signify to do nothing but speak, and not act, *verba dare,* Hos. x. 4; Isa. lviii. 13); יָדַע דַּעַת *to know* (*i.e.* to possess) *knowledge,* Prov.

in Phoenician (cf. Ewald's treatise, entitled *Die sidonische Inschriften*, i. 24), and the particle ܠܡ *lam*, which is abbreviated from it, is placed after the proper name (as in Lagarde's *Analecta*, p. 176, 24), or the expression quoted. This is the most correct derivation of ܠܡ; it does not come from לְמֵאמַר, which has now become the usual form of the infinitive in Aramaic, but from the older form. In another Aramaic dialect there was used for this כְּנֵמָא, which is contracted from כְּנֵאמַר *as we say.* Cf. also on Jonah iii. 7.

xvii. 27; cf. a similar construction in Jer. xxiii. 20; קָצַף קֶצֶף *he has been angry, with anger, i.e.* as we may say, *he has been so angry!* when one could state something further, but does not feel inclined to do so just then, Zech. i. 2. If such an accusative precede its verb, then, though the context may show that special emphasis is to be laid upon the idea presented in the verb, as, הֶבֶל תֶּהְבָּלוּ *vanitatem vani estis, ye are utterly vain,* Job xxvii. 12,[1] yet the construction formed by means of the absolute infinitive (see § 312) is more frequently employed, and more appropriate for this purpose. Such a verb, together with its substantive, is frequently but a somewhat forcible expression for the weakened *have,* so often used in modern languages, but which is unknown in this sense to the more ancient tongues; as, חָלַם חֲלוֹם *to dream* (*i.e.* to *have*) *a dream,* and in the pl. חָלַם חֲלֹמוֹת *to dream* (*i.e.* to *have*) *dreams.* For the most part, however, it is only the idea of the particular to which this stronger prominence is assigned: such an accusative may be subordinated (*a*) simply by itself; as, דִּבֶּר דָּבָר *to speak one word* (no more than one), Job ii. 13, 2 Sam. vii. 7, Isa. v. 6, viii. 10; or (*b*) with the addition of an adjective or pronoun; as, בָּכָה בְכִי גָדוֹל *to weep a great weeping, i.e.* very much; or (*c*) as a noun in the construct state; as, נָסוּ מְנֻסַת חֶרֶב *they fled the flight of the sword, i.e.* as one flees before the sword, Lev. xxvi. 36; Isa. v. 1. In a relative clause, also (see § 331), a connection may be formed thus with the preceding noun; as, הַמָּצוֹק אֲשֶׁר יָצִיק *the straitness* (with) *which he will straiten* (or which he will cause), Deut. xxviii. 53, Ps. lxxxix. 51 f.; and similar to this are cases such as פַּחַד פָּחַדְתִּי, *I had a trembling, i.e.* I trembled before (or, for) something, *and it* was the very thing that *fell on me,* Job iii. 25. The more modern languages quite obscure this simplicity of construction which appears in the more ancient modes of speech, amidst the manifold forms which, as has just been shown, they can employ. Moreover, since the pure verbal idea is simply developed more fully, it is quite indifferent whether the verb is taken as active, intransitive, or passive (as Isa. xiv. 2; Zech. xiii. 6), and whether it has one or two other objects, Jer. xxx. 14, Judg. xv. 8; a substantive [703] of *similar signification* may also be connected in the same way with a verb, Zech. viii. 2;

[1] Precisely similar is χαρᾷ χαίρει, John iii. 29.

Jer. xiv. 17, xx. 11, xxx. 14, xxiii. 6; Isa. xxxvii. 6; Ps. cxxxix. 22.

b. 2. Verbs which describe a circumstance or condition, take into this direct and immediate connection with themselves the nouns which specify the completion of the idea they contain. To this class especially belong verbs which, possessing the idea of *fulness*, take an object for the purpose of more distinctly specifying the contents; as, מָלֵא, שָׂבֵעַ *to be full*, or *satisfied with bread, what is good*, etc., the opposite חָדֵל, חָסֵר to be *in want of, need*, שָׁכֹל *to be bereaved* of anything; in all such cases the simple accusative is sufficient to form the completion, though we also find, even in these older languages, a beginning made in the use of בְּ[1] *in*, etc., as a mediating particle, Ps. lxxxviii. 4, —a construction which has become predominant in our modern languages. The verb may also signify a more definite kind of fulness; as, to move, swarm, swell, overflow with; thus שָׁרַץ and רָמַשׂ *to teem, swarm*, Gen. i. 21, ix. 2; *the hills* תֵּלַכְנָה חָלָב *stream with milk*, Joel iv. 18; a similar construction, of a bolder kind, occurs in Num. xxiv. 7; *the eye* יֹרְדָה מַיִם *runs with water*, Lam. i. 16;[2] נוּב *to sprout with wisdom*, Prov. x. 31; *the ground* עָלָה סִירִים *rises up* (as the optical delusion makes it appear) *with thorns*, which always become higher, more bulky, Isa. v. 6, xxxiv. 13; Prov. xxiv. 31; חָלַף and עָבַר *to overflow, pass over*, used of anything that is too full through swelling from within, Hab. i. 11; Jer. v. 28; Ps. lxxiii. 7. And lastly, to the same class also belong verbs of putting on [clothes], inasmuch as they really express a *becoming full* or *covered*, and hence also are half-passive; as, לָבַשׁ (לָבֵשׁ), and the poetic עָטַף, Ps. lxv. 14, lxxiii. 6. Moreover, in the case of such ideas, what, in the first instance, holds true of things, may further be extended to persons; as, *my soul* (or desire) תִּמְלָאֵמוֹ *shall satisfy itself of them* (or, *on them*, viz. the enemy), Ex. xv. 9. But if מָלֵא or נִמְלָא (cf. § 123*b*) *to be full*, be employed in speaking of a person or thing whose mere

[1] [Two special treatises on this particle have recently appeared, one by Gräfenhan (*Die Präposition* בְּ *als Bezeichnung des hebräischen Genitiv*, Eisleben 1870), the other by Wandel (*De particulæ Hebraicæ* בְּ *indole, vi, usu*, Jena 1875).]

[2] Similarly, שְׁגְגַת תַּלְמוּד עוֹלָה זָדוֹן *error in doctrine becomes* [grows into] *pride*, M. Abôth, iv. 16.

existence fills everything, *i.e.* of a divine, purely spiritual nature, then the idea of *fulness* becomes connected with that of *filling*, and hence also with the accusative of that which is filled (see §§ 282, 283*b*), with the important difference, however, that this filling or completion is not of an external nature, but is produced merely from an internal fulness; as *I* (God) מָלֵאתִי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ *am full* and I fill *the earth,* Jer. xxiii. 24; *his glory* יִמָּלֵא אֶת־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ *fills all the earth,* Num. xiv. 21; 2 Chron. v. 13 f., vii. 1 f.; Ps. lxxii. 19; cf. Isa. vi. 1. The same construction of לָבַשׁ *to put on* (as clothing), but with reference to non-material objects, is found in Job xxix. 14; Judg. vi. 34.

c. 3. Finally, the accusative offers a brief mode of construction for pointing out that part or object, or that member, which is specially concerned, and to which, along with the leading idea, special prominence is to be assigned. Such cases are—(*a*) Verbs which express more a state or condition; as, [704] חָלָה אֶת־רַגְלָיו *he was ill with his feet* (cf. πόδας ὠκύς), 1 Kings xv. 23, in which case, of course, modern languages always assume an auxiliary preposition; and indeed, even in 2 Chron. xvi. 12, the subordination is thus evidenced by means of בְּ: *I will be greater than thou* רַק הַכִּסֵּא *only* (as regards) *the throne,* Gen. xli. 40; but in prose the preposition לְ is readily assumed in such cases after the verb (see § 217*d*), as in 1 Kings x. 23; such poetic constructions as גָּבְרוּ חַיִל *they are mighty* (in) *strength,* Job xxi. 7; אָבַד דֶּרֶךְ *to err* (*in*) *the way,* Ps. ii. 12, which also show how the words in Ps. xiv. 6*a* are to be understood. (*b*) Reflexive verbs; as, הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה אַפַּיִם (rarely with the suffix, as אַפָּיו in 2 Sam. xxiv. 20) *to bow oneself down* [as regards] *the face, i.e.* to bow the face; נִתְרָאֶה פָנִים *let us see one another* (*i.e.* let us contend in) *person* (*i.e.* personally), 2 Kings xiv. 8, 11. Hence also (*c*) the second object of active verbs; as, יְשׁוּפְךָ רֹאשׁ *he will attack thee on the head,* Gen. iii. 15; Deut. xxxiii. 11; Jer. ii. 16; Ps. lxviii. 22 (cf. τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσ' ἐκάλυψε); *he cooked them* [as regards] *the flesh, i.e.* cooked their fleshy parts, 1 Kings xix. 21; הִכָּהוּ נֶפֶשׁ, *he strikes him* [in the] *soul, i.e.* in the life, *i.e.* dead, Deut. xxii. 26. Hence, further, relative sentences; as, אֲשֶׁר שָׁכַב (the disease on account of) *which he has lain down, i.e.* of which he is ill, Ps. xli. 9; but of course a preposition may also be used to show the rela-

tion more clearly; as, to strike one עַל *upon* the back, Mic. iv. 14; Deut. xxviii. 35. In poetry, even bolder constructions of the same kind are formed; as, *I cry* פִּי with *my mouth, i.e.* aloud; *I long for thee* נַפְשִׁי with *my soul, i.e.* fervently, where the special instrument merely describes the essence of the action, Ps. iii. 5, xii. 3, xvii. 10 f., 13 f., xxvii. 7, xliv. 3, lx. 7, lxvi. 17, lxix. 11, cix. 2, cxxxviii. 7; Isa. x. 30, xxvi. 9; cf. further, § 293*e*. A like construction is found with passives, etc.; as, שְׁמִי (by) *my name Jahve I did not make myself known,* Ex. vi. 3; *the city shall be built* רְחוֹב וְחָרוּץ (with) *walls and ditches,* Dan. ix. 25.

d. II. The construction with the accusative becomes still more forcible when it expresses the direction of the action indicated by a corresponding verb; and such, certainly, is in general the primary use and meaning of the accusative in relation to material objects (see § 203). Thus, *he went* הָעִיר *to the city;* hence verbs which are also transitive may take two objects; and in poetry we even find such bold constructions as, *lift up your hands* קֹדֶשׁ *to the sanctuary,* Ps. cxxxiv. 2; *his enemies he pursues* חֹשֶׁךְ *into darkness,* Nah. i. 8; *my soul transported me* מַרְכְּבוֹת *to the chariots* of the nobles (so that I got there),—according to the peculiar language of Cant. vi. 12. This construction is still more readily adopted in relative sentences; as, *the land* אֲשֶׁר *to which thou didst send us,* Num. xiii. 27 (see § 331); and in this case also, just as in that treated of in § 279*c*, the verb הָלַךְ *to go,* especially delights in being associated with short words; as, הָלַךְ רָכִיל *to go about* (for) *slander,* Prov. xi. 13; הָלַךְ תֶּמֶס *to go to dissolution,* Ps. lviii. 9.

But names of persons do not allow themselves to be placed under any such absolute rule as regards [705] subordination; there is barely an example even in the ancient song, Num. x. 36; for, cases like Isa. xli. 25 (where בוֹא is to be taken in accordance with what is stated in § 282*a*), or those in which the people rather mean the country (as 1 Sam. xiii. 20, and at most also Ps. xlvii. 10), do not fall under this category. And when there is no verb of motion so near, it is only certain words in frequent use to which the idea of direction can be attached; as, *he called them* הַשָּׂדֶה *into the field,* Gen. xxxi. 4. At other times, indeed, the ָה of motion (see § 216) is often used for making a statement more explicit; as, *throw him*

הַיְאֹרָה *to the Nile* (or, into the Nile), Ex. i. 22; but inasmuch as that termination, in the stage of development now attained by the Hebrew language, has become so rare, the word [*i.e.* the simple accusative] has sometimes also the same meaning of *to, as far as,* even without it, though no verb of motion is near, as 1 Kings v. 1; Neh. iv. 17; and in 1 Sam. ix. 26, where הַגָּג merely stands for *to the roof* (on to the roof), the *Qerî* is הַגָּגָה.

It is only when unusually strong emphasis is intended, that the accusatival אֵת is also joined, in this construction, with definite names of places, as in Judg. xix. 18; cf. p. 37.

This accusative, accordingly, may also be used more abstractly, for briefly setting forth the *final effect* of an action, or what flows from it as a consequence; thus, *the Mount of Olives will be cleft,* גֵּיא גְדוֹלָה (becoming) *a large valley,* Zech. xiv. 4; *Zion will be ploughed* שָׂדֶה (as) *a field, i.e.* becoming a field, Mic. iii. 12, Jer. xxvi. 18, Job xxii. 16, Hab. iii. 9; *it became rotten* תּוֹלָעִים (turning into) *worms,* Ex. xvi. 20; *the ashes* אֲשֶׁר (*to*) *which the fire consumes the sacrifice,* Lev. vi. 3; יָשֵׁן הַמָּוֶת *to sleep* (to) *death, i.e.* so that the sleep becomes death, Ps. xiii. 4; thus also, *the hand of God came on the city* מְהוּמָה גְדוֹלָה (as) *a great fear,* i.e. so that great fear arose, 1 Sam. v. 9, cf. ver. 11.

Under other circumstances, the preposition לְ (see § 217) must be used to express this idea of *becoming something;* as, הֱיוּ לַאֲנָשִׁים[1] *be for* (*i.e.* become) *men,* 1 Sam. iv. 9.

282*a*. III. The strongest meaning of the accusatival construction comes out when the person or thing which it governs is affected and defined by the action itself. Whether a verb is able in any way to exhibit such power, depends less on the mere verb-stem [or conjugation] than on the turn given to the idea contained in each individual verb-stem; for, even a verb in a half-passive and reflexive form, when endowed with a new force by such an application of its fundamental idea, may subordinate [*i.e.* govern] a direct completion [of the verbal idea, *i.e.* an object] without using a preposition (see

[1] [For a fuller account of this construction, see Giesebrecht on the preposition Lamed, p. 51 ff.]

§§ 123*b*, 124*b*, 130*c* [Gr. § 272]). The language often vacillates between this briefer construction and the mediate one, which is formed by means of a preposition; and the poets especially show great boldness and freedom here. *E.G.* נָשַׁק *to kiss,* properly signifies *to affix* (*the mouth to some one*), hence it is primarily construed with לְ of the person, 2 Sam. xv. 5, then directly with the accus., 1 Sam. xx. 41: אָרַב *to lie in wait,* is construed with לְ or עַל *for* [706] something; but in poetic language it is also directly connected with the object, Prov. xii. 6: כִּפֵּר *to atone, propitiate,* is used, first of all, with עַל (because it properly means to stroke, paste, cover *over* something); then with בְּעַד *for,* in behalf of (see § 217*m*), and more briefly בְּ *for;*[1] and finally, with the simple accusative, as in Lev. xvi. 33: עָרַךְ *to prepare* (war), *encamp,* with עַל *against* the person, but in poetry it is equally used with the accusative of the person, as in Job vi. 4, *to besiege,* surround one; יָכֹל *be able,* with the accusative of the person, *overpower,* overcome, Ps. xiii. 5, Jer. xxxviii. 5; similarly חָזַק, 1 Kings xvi. 22; and even קוּם *to stand,* may be used in poetry in the sense of *standing against,* resisting anything, Ps. xli. 9 (cf. § 281*c*); גּוּר and שָׁכַן *to dwell,* are used poetically with the accusative of the place, and even of the person, and then signify *to dwell with* (or near) a thing or person, Ps. v. 5, lxviii. 19, cxx. 5, Prov. viii. 12, Judg. v. 17; מָרָה *to be rebellious* = *despise,* Jer. xiv. 17, with which compare סוּר *to turn aside from,* i.e. *transgress* the commandment, 2 Chron. viii. 15; זָנָה *to commit whoredom* = *seduce,* Jer. iii. 1, Ezek. xvi. 28; עֲמָמוּךָ, Lat. *latent te,* Ezek. xxviii. 3, as in prose שָׁכַב *to sleep,* is found in immediate connection with the name of the woman, Gen. xxxv. 22; and בָּכָה *to weep,* is used for *bewail,* with the accusative of the person or thing, Lev. x. 6; אָשֵׁם *be guilty, owing* anything (as we also say in German [and English]), Ezra x. 19. It deserves particular notice that verbs which primarily indicate merely a violent movement *towards* any one, and are accordingly joined to the object by a preposition, may finally also content themselves with the accusative which defines the operation. Thus, הָרַג *to murder,*

[1] The prep. בְּ is used in Lev. xvi. 17, 27 and xvii. 11; in the last passage, however (it is to be expressly remarked), the sense requires the rendering, "the blood itself *atones for the soul.*"

originally[1] signifies merely the deadly aim *at* (against) a person, and hence is joined, first mediately, by לְ, and then also directly, with its object in the accusative; so also הִתְעַבֵּר *to get into a passion*, with the accusative, expresses the rousing of wrath in another as the consequence of anger in oneself, Prov. xx. 2. In many expressions, also, a small word, such as a relative or a personal pronoun, that easily admits of being connected with other words, can more readily be directly subordinated than a substantive, which is of greater importance; cf. § 331*c*. It is needless to enumerate all the different kinds of such verbs; the following are some of the more important classes:—

1st. Verbs of *going* take as their object the place on which the motion wholly falls, and which is thereby made directly passive; as, הָלַךְ אֶת־הַמִּדְבָּר *to walk the wilderness, i.e.* to traverse, go through it, Deut. i. 19, Job xxix. 3, Ps. cv. 41, Isa. lvii. 2; or, where *go, walk,* is, in figurative language, equivalent to *act, practise,* Isa. xxxiii. 15; Mic. ii. 11. Similarly, יָצָא [707] *to go out,* when it is simply equivalent to *leave* (like the Lat. *exire urbem,* and Gr. *ἐκβαίνειν πόλιν*), Gen. xliv. 4, and עָבַר *prœterire aliquid,* Gen. xxxii. 33; also בּוֹא *to come,* in the sense of *striking;* as, *misfortune befalls thee,* Ps. xxxv. 8; cf. also [Ewald's commentary] on Jer. l. 11. A very bold expression would be עָמַד כַּנּוֹ *he took his place,* Dan. xi. 7; but in vv. 20, 21, the prep. עַל is used in addition. With such cases, however, we must not class Jer. xiii. 18, יָרַד מַרְאֲשֹׁתֵיכֶם as if it literally meant, the crown *is fallen from your heads;* the literal meaning rather is, the crown *has fallen down your heads.*[2] A rarer mode of expression also is, *to turn aside* [from] *the way,* viz. intentionally (הִטָּה, not נָטָה, see § 122*c*), which signifies more than to miss it, Num. xxii. 23.[3]

2d. Verbs of speaking subordinate to themselves not merely

[1] Cf. the Arabic هرج; it is remarkable that the Turkish قيمق *to kill,* as well as other verbs of striking and wounding, is also joined with the dative.

[2] [Ewald also calls attention (§ 160*b*, footnote) to the pointing מְרַאֲשֹׁת found elsewhere, but which may have arisen from a false explanation of 1 Sam. xxvi. 12, מ being regarded as the preposition.]

[3] In this case, instead of the Hiphil, the Arabic, with greater precision, would use the conative form (Ger. *Zielstamm*).

what is uttered, viz. the words or contents of the speech (which remark also applies to such a case as זָעַק חָמָס *clamare = queri injustitiam,* Hab. i. 2), but also the subject concerned, even when the latter is a person,—though this is done to a very limited extent; as in the relative sentence אֲשֶׁר יֵאָמְרוּ *of which they say,* Gen. xxii. 14, 2 Kings xxi. 4, 7 (cf. § 331*c*); in the expression דַּבְּרוֹ לְשָׁלוֹם *he spoke* [of] *him for peace, i.e.* he spoke of him in such a way that he wished him well, Gen. xxxvii. 4. This is particularly the case with עָנָה *to notify any one, i.e.* to tell him something expected, mostly to *answer, reply to;* and so also with הֵשִׁיב (with or without דָּבָר) *to return,* in the sense of answering, *ἀποκρίνεσθαι,* Job xxxiii. 5, 32; צִוָּה *to command,* like the Lat. *jubere* with the accusative of the person, is properly to order, charge.

3d. Verbs of *treating* or *dealing* [*acting towards* any one] subordinate not merely the action, but also the person concerned; such are גָּמַל, 1 Sam. xxiv. 18, and שִׁלֵּם, *to recompense,* Ps. xxxv. 12. The same remark applies to verbs of *giving, presenting with* (on which, see further § 283*c*); verbs of *serving,* and hence also עָבַד in the sense of sacrificing to a God; cf. Ex. x. 25 f. Yet עָשָׂה *to do,* which is the most general word of this kind, is not used simply with the accusative of the person.[1]

But those verbs which, in ordinary speech, almost always govern the object directly, may also, in Hebrew, be construed with prepositions in a great variety of ways, whenever the idea requires to be more closely defined by means of them; this freedom would not be so largely exercised in the Semitic languages, if it were possible in them, as in the Indo-Germanic, to compound the verb with prepositions. Hence, as קְרָאתִיו is *I called him,* so קָרָאתִי אֵלָיו is simply our *I called to him,* or *I called him* [to come to me], as in 1 Sam. ix. 26 (which has already been referred to in § 281*d*), or, *I invited him, e.g.* לְשָׁלוֹם *to peace,* Deut. xx. 10; קָרָאתִי לוֹ *I proclaimed to him, e.g.* a *name,* or *peace,* Judg. xxi. 13, or *liberty* [708], Isa. lxi. 1; קָרָאתִי בוֹ *I called to him,* and קָרָאתִי אַחֲרָיו *I called after him,* 1 Sam. xx. 38, like רָאִיתִי אַחֲרָיו *I looked after him,* Gen. xvi. 13. Accordingly, prepositions and words of similar

[1] This cannot be shown at least from Isa. xlii. 16, and Jer. xxxiii. 9, Ezek. xxiii. 25.

character, in the Semitic languages, connect themselves, in sense, with such verbs, quite as closely as in the Indo-Germanic, without, however, being also joined more closely, as regards their outward form, with these verbs, as in the latter class of languages; in this case, therefore, the preposition readily assumes another meaning than what it bears when used alone. Thus, עַל־יַד, taken by itself, has the sensuous meaning given in § 217*m* [viz. *at the hand*, or *side of*]; but when construed with a verb of *giving*, it may signify *to deliver up something to a person* for his management or guidance (to lay it upon his hands, as it were), 1 Chron. xxix. 8; Ps. lxiii. 11; cf. 1 Chron. xxv. 2–6; while, in earlier writings, there might be used, instead of this expression, תַּחַת יַד *under the hand* or *protection* of any one, Gen. xli. 35. In every separate verb-idea, however, there is always some feature so peculiar, that it is scarcely safe to add anything further to these general remarks.

c. In the Hebrew, generally, there prevails great flexibility and boldness in the combination of verbs with prepositions which have suitable meanings; hence also, especially in poetry, we find an extraordinary brevity of expression which it is often difficult to render as briefly and clearly in our modern languages. In particular, prepositions of motion are joined in this way with verbs, which have thus communicated to them, for the first time, the idea of motion (the so-called *constructio prægnans*); as, פָּחַד, חָרַד, *quake*, or *tremble*, with לִקְרַאת *to tremble before*, 1 Sam. xxi. 2; with אֶל־ *to, to tremble towards* a person, or approach him trembling, Gen. xlii. 28, cf. xliii. 33, Jer. xxxvi. 16; מִלֵּא אַחֲרֵי *to do*, or to *go fully after* him, *i.e.* to follow him completely,—an expression found in the Book of Origins,[1] Num. xiv. 24, xxxii. 11 f.; חִלֵּל לָאָרֶץ *to desecrate* (by casting) *to the earth*, Ps. lxxxix. 40; הֶחֱרִישׁ, followed by אֶל־, signifies *to be silent*, turning *towards* any one (to hear him in silence), Isa. xli. 1,—followed by מִן, turning *from* him (leave him alone in silence), Job xiii. 13; *snow darkens itself* (casts itself in dark masses) *on* the rivers, Job vi. 16; עָנָה *to hear* and answer one, מִן (delivering him) *out of* troubles, Ps. xxii. 22. Further, the preposition בְּ *with*, construed with a verb used in an active sense, readily serves to indicate briefly a further extension of the predicate by means of a noun-idea;

[1] [See footnote, p. 32.]

as, עֲנִיתְךָ בְּצֶדֶק *I have heard* (and answered) *thee with salvation, i.e.* by giving thee deliverance, Ps. lxv. 6; cf. cxviii. 5.

Verbs signifying good-will or contempt, which at other times may, by a brief construction, govern their noun directly [in the accusative], also readily attach to themselves an object of some importance by means of a preposition of motion; as, אָהֵב לְ *to have love for* a person, Lev. xix. 18, 34; בָּזָה לְ or בּוּז, and לָעַג or הִלְעִיג *to mock* and *despise;* also נִדָּה *to abominate,* 2 Sam. vi. 16, Prov. xvii. 5, Ps. xxii. 8, Amos vi. 3, or even with עַל, Neh. ii. 19. Similarly, verbs which express skill in the exercise of an art may readily be construed with a direct accusative (cf. § 130*c*); as, רִפָּא *to heal,* which takes the accusative, or לְ, 2 Kings ii. 21 [709]; הוֹשִׁיעַ and עָזַר *to help,* gradually begin to employ the construction with לְ (as such verbs in our modern languages take the dative), Judg. vii. 2; 1 Sam. x. 19 (cf. on the contrary, xi. 3), xxv. 31; 2 Sam. viii. 5; Ps. lxxii. 4; but verbs of an opposite meaning, as, שִׁחֵת *to destroy, i.e.* to *injure,* are equally construed with לְ, Num. xxxii. 15; 1 Sam. xxiii. 10. Cf. besides, § 292*e* [and especially Giesebrecht, p. 32 ff.].

On the other hand, such startling expressions as, הֵמַר לִי, Ruth i. 20, הֵנִיחַ לִי, Isa. xiv. 3, and the similar construction, הִרְפָּה לִי, 1 Sam. xi. 3, as well as הִרְבָּה לוֹ, Hos. x. 1, Prov. xxii. 16 (where the meaning is *to cause, i.e.* in order to cause *increase to him, i.e.* in order that he may gain the more), are explained by what is stated in § 122*b*, and § 295*a;* hence also, perhaps on account of the idea employed in them, such expressions as הִשְׁקִיט לִי *he gave me rest,* Ps. xciv. 13, and הִצְדִּיק לִי *he judged in my favour,* Isa. liii. 11, and even such constructions as הִשְׂגִּיא לִי, *he gave me increase,* also שָׁטַח לִי *he gave me room to spread,* Job xii. 23. All these verbs express a change into a [new] condition, caused by the action of another from without. [See further, Giesebrecht, p. 80 f.]

d. Something quite different from this takes place when a verbal idea, instead of receiving a direct and wholly active turn, is, without any essential change in meaning, merely subordinated in a looser way by means of the preposition בְּ *with.* This primarily arises from the tendency rather to assign a separate position to an idea which, though originally con-

nected with things of sense, becomes more and more a purely mental conception; and this separation finds its warrant in the fact that these ideas are capable of bearing an independent meaning. Instead of the direct and strong construction, the indirect and milder is used; while the fundamental idea itself is refined and classified so as to assume a new, and somewhat more of a peculiar and independent meaning. Thus, though we can always say נָתַן קוֹל, *to give forth the voice, i.e.* to make it sound, and הֵרִים קוֹל *to raise the voice,* Ps. civ. 12, 2 Chron. v. 13; yet, because such verbs also begin to be employed by themselves in a musical sense (as in 1 Chron. xxv. 5, and נָשָׂא in Job xxi. 12), they also subordinate the word קוֹל by means of the preposition בְּ *with, to sound with the voice,* Jer. xii. 8, 1 Chron. xv. 16; similarly, *to open widely,* or *gape widely, i.e.* mock *with the tongue* [*mouth*], Job xvi. 10, Ps. xxii. 8; *to spread out with* (*i.e.* to wring) *the hands,* Lam. i. 17; in other places, however, the verb is used more in its ordinary meaning, in a somewhat more diffuse style of speaking, and takes the direct accusative, *to spread out the hands,* Ps. cxliii. 6; Isa. i. 15. This may be called the elegant style of certain poets (cf. p. 563 above), but it is also found gradually making its way even into prose narrative; as, *to lift* (*i.e.* almost, to threaten) בַּמַּטֶּה *with the rod,* Ex. vii. 20. The formation of a causative verb (§ 122) is also intentionally avoided in many expressions; thus בּוֹא בְּ, *to come with* a thing may mean the same as to *bring* it, Ex. xxii. 14; Ps. xl. 8, lxxi. 16; and עָנָה בִי *he has dealt hard with me* does not sound so harshly as *he has afflicted me,* Ruth i. 21;[1] generally speaking, however, בְּ is not yet so frequently used by the Hebrew in these [710], and in the similar instances explained in § 299, as by the Arabic.

When the idea of an instrument would be unsuitable, the new figurative meaning of a verb may become the occasion for construing it rather with another preposition; as, נָשָׂא *to take away* guilt, *i.e. to pardon,* hence with לְ of the person, but

[1] On the other hand, חִזֵּק בִּידֵי, Ezra i. 6, is not to be understood in such a way as if it meant, properly, to *strengthen* the hands of any one (cf. vi. 22, where בְּ is wanting), but it is properly, to *seize the hands of* any one, *i.e.* to support him: חִזֵּק = הֶחֱזִיק, since the Piel may gradually be substituted for Hiphil.

later also with the same לְ, *i.e.* our dative, in relation to the thing, *i.e.* the guilt, as in Gen. l. 17, though the more primitive construction, viz. the accusative of the guilt, is also still retained, Lev. x. 17; שׁוֹבֵב, in the sense of *restoring* any one, giving him once more his former health (as shown in the expression mentioned on p. 430), takes the dative, Ps. lx. 3.

When, for any reason, a verb may be construed with the accusative, or a more definite preposition, whether there be but little or no difference whatever in meaning, both constructions are readily interchanged by the poets in different members of a verse; while, in prose, it is at most late writers that avail themselves so readily of such alternative constructions, as in 2 Chron. xvi. 12; cf. also Lev. xvi. 33.

As the preposition מִן *of, from,* joined with the *subject* of a sentence, in itself gives a somewhat more indefinite meaning (§ 294*c*); so also, when such a מִן, used partitively, is joined with the *object,* there is as little, and even less need for specification of the latter. This holds good whether the reference is to (*a*) *things;* as, הָקֵל מֵהָעֲבֹדָה *to lighten* [something] *of the burden, i.e.* to lighten the burden somewhat (nothing further being stated as to the amount), 1 Kings xii. 4; thus also, in the case of similar relations which are to be considered merely as partial or relative, and not absolute, in which, therefore, the Greeks would readily employ their genitive; as, *the clouds withheld* מִטַּל *of dew* (giving nothing *of dew*), Hag. i. 10; so also, *I will sing to thee* מִשִּׁירִי *of my song, i.e.* lines of my poetry, Ps. xxviii. 7; or whether (*b*) *persons* are spoken of; as, מִן־הָעָם הִשְׁאִיר *he left remaining of the* poor *people* (it is not to be, or cannot be, stated how many), Jer. xxxix. 10; the construction is more rare when only one person is intended, as in Ex. vi. 25; such an object, however, with מִן, may also be connected by means of וְ *and,* with a preceding object having a different construction, as in Jer. xix. 1; 2 Chron. xxi. 4. Much more rare is the use of this מִן with an accusative cognate to the verb (see § 281*a*); as, *of the weeping of Jazer will I weep for thee, i.e.* I will devote to thee something of the tears with which Jazer also is bewailed, Jer. xlviii. 32; Cant. i. 2.

On the other hand, כְּ *as, like,* though possessing the force

of a preposition (§ 221*a* [Ges. § 102, 2; Gr. § 231; Dav. § 14]), may thrust itself in before every accusative which, from whatever reason, is dependent on a verb; as, *O that I had* כְּיַרְחֵי קֶדֶם *like moons* [months] *of yore, i.e.* such as the former were, Job xxix. 2; however (see § 221*a*), [711], it likes to exclude all other prepositions from the place which these might otherwise occupy, as, *their heart rejoices* כְּמוֹ יָיִן *as if* there were *wine, i.e.* as it were from wine, Zech. x. 7, 9, 15; cf., on Deut. i. 11, the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* for 1869, p. 1033.

f. Lastly, a purely active verb, which, under other circumstances, is always followed by an accusative, or by a preposition, as the completion of the idea it contains, may also be placed under entirely opposite conditions, and stand quite alone, without reference to any other word, and even without its own proper substantive (§ 281*a*). This, in the case of some verbs, is the consequence of a certain change in meaning, as when אָבָה *to wish,* used absolutely, signifies *to be compliant, complaisant,* Isa. i. 19, Prov. i. 10; or with the negative, לֹא חָמַל *not to spare, i.e.* to have no pity, 2 Sam. xii. 6; הֵקַל *bring contempt,* הִכְבִּיד *bring honour,* Isa. viii. 23; in other cases, however, such an unusual employment of the verb by itself may have a somewhat more powerful effect, as when, with great emphasis, some poets begin to use עָשָׂה of God, in the sense of *working, i.e. helping,* Ps. xxii. 32, xxxvii. 5, lii. 11; and לֹא יָדַע for *not to know,* or *to be ignorant,* Job viii. 9; Isa. i. 3; cf. Ps. lxxiii. 11, where the opposite expression occurs.

283*a*. The construction of the same verb in different ways with *two or three accusatives,* all of which cluster round, and depend on it, forms a kind of power and liberty which has become as rare in modern, as it is common in the ancient languages, and which prevails in Hebrew to the fullest extent. It has been already pointed out (§ 122*b* [Ges. § 139, 1; Gr. § 273, 1]) how Hiphil or Piel, as the causal forms of an active verb, possess the power of governing two different objects. But every verb with an active meaning may also exhibit this power in many ways: this has been already shown in part, as occasion offered; further details must now be presented in the following view:—

(*a*) Every active verb, in addition to the accusative primarily dependent on it, may take another more remote accusative, specifying the circumstances (§ 279), or even the essential nature of the action (§ 281*c*); in this, of course, the poets take more liberty than other writers, who use a plainer style, allow themselves. Thus, the instrument of the action may be mentioned very briefly and indefinitely as a completion of the predicate: רָגְמוּ אֹתוֹ אֶבֶן *they stoned him* with *stones*, Josh. vii. 25; יֹרֵם חֵץ *he shot them* with *arrows*, Ps. lxiv. 8, cf. cxli. 5, Isa. liii. 10 (following the reading הֶחֱלִי); יְצוּדֵנוּ חֵרֶם *he hunts him* with the *net*, Mic. vii. 2, cf. Mal. iii. 24; so also, in a less sensuous meaning, יִרְעֵם דֵּעָה וְהַשְׂכֵּיל, *he feeds them with knowledge and understanding*, Jer. iii. 15; *to count something* מִסְפָּר according to the *number*, *i.e.* exactly, Num. xxiii. 10; *to judge one* מִישֹׁר according to *equity*, Ps. lxvii. 5; and in a relative sentence, as, *the work* אֲשֶׁר *whereby God makes all*, Eccles. xi. 5. See further, § 331*c*.

b. (*b*) According to § 281*b*, many verbs may govern two objects, when their intransitive meaning indicates any kind of abundance, or possession, and covering. Thus:—

(1st.) Verbs of filling; as, מִלְאוּ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ חָמָס [712] *they filled* (*i.e.* made full) *the earth* with *cruelty*. In the same manner are construed שִׂבַּע *to satisfy*; רִוָּה *to saturate*, Isa. xvi. 9; הֵנִיף, which bears a similar meaning, Prov. vii. 17, Ps. lxv. 10, lxviii. 10; עוּת *to refresh*, Isa. l. 4.

(2d.) Verbs which contain the idea of giving, presenting, gracious bestowal. Those which belong to this class are, however, not so much (cf. § 282*a*) the common and weak נָתַן *to give*,[1] as rather the stronger חָנַן to favour, *bestow graciously*, Gen. xxxiii. 5; בֵּרַךְ *to bless*, in a similar sense, Deut. xv. 14; קִדֵּם *to anticipate*, present in anticipation of want, Ps. xxi. 4; כִּבֵּד *honour*, honour by presenting, Isa. xliii. 23; סָעַד, סָמַךְ, כִּלְכֵּל, מָשַׁךְ, *support*, *keep*, *uphold*, maintain by giving, Jer. xxxi. 3; on the other hand, עָבַד *to serve*, serve by giving, Ex. x. 26. To this class also belong those verbs which express want of the things mentioned; as, חִסַּר *to cause to want*, deprive; עָשַׁק and קָבַע *to oppress*, *despoil*, Prov. xxii. 23,

[1] The form נְתַתָּנִי, Josh. xv. 19, Judg. i. 15, does not belong to this category; see *Hist. of the People of Israel*, vol. ii. p. 58 [English translation.]

Mal. iii. 5, 8; עָנַשׁ *to fine* a person something, Deut. xxii. 19. Further,

(3d.) Verbs which signify *clothing, covering* of every kind (cf. Lat. *induo te vestem*); as, חָגַר and חִזֵּק *to gird*, Isa. xxii. 21; נָעַל *to shoe* (put on shoes), עָטַר and עִטֵּר *to crown*, מָשַׁח *to anoint*, כִּסָּה *to cover*, the poetic construction of סוֹבֵב *to surround*, clothe, Ps. xxxii. 7, 10, cix. 3; צִפָּה *to overlay.* With these coincide verbs of planting and sowing, since the seed is regarded as the clothing of the field; as, נָטַע, Isa. v. 2; זָרַע, Isa. xvii. 10, xxx. 23, Jer. xxxi. 27; also the use of זָרַע, to signify *bestrew*, Judg. ix. 45; also those verbs which signify the covering of buildings, 1 Kings vi. 9. Moreover, all such verbs may also be construed somewhat more loosely with suitable prepositions; thus, verbs of *covering* may take עַל when it is rather a *covering over* that is meant, Job xv. 27, xxxvi. 32; קִדֵּם may also (as in modern languages) be construed with בְּ before the gift with which a person is presented beforehand, Mic. vi. 6. But when נָתַן governs the person in the accusative, and then subordinates an infinitive with לְ, as, נְתַתִּיךָ לַעֲשׂוֹת *I gave* (*i.e.* I allowed) *thee to do it* (see especially, Ex. iii. 19), it is in such a case to be regarded, not so much as meaning to *give*, as rather to *cause*, and the construction is rather to be viewed in accordance with what is stated in § 284*b;* it is not till 2 Chron. xx. 10 that we find the dative [of the person] subordinated to the verb in this use of it.

c. Since (according to § 282*a*) the ideas of asking, of teaching, commanding, also those of answering, treating [using, dealing with], and recompensing, govern the person affected as naturally and readily as the thing concerned, verbs with these meanings always easily admit of being construed with two such objects at the same time; as, מֶה עָנָה אֹתוֹ *what did he answer him?* Mic. vi. 5, Job ix. 3; שְׁאַל אֶת־הַכֹּהֲנִים תּוֹרָה, *interroga sacerdotes legem;* לִמַּדְתִּיכֶם חֻקִּים, *docui vos leges*; cf. יִסֵּר *castigare* in the sense of *docere*, Prov. xxxi. 1; הוֹרָה [713] *point out, instruct*, Ps. xlv. 5. Sometimes, however, verbs of teaching are construed with לְ of the person (as in modern languages with the dative), Isa. xxxviii. 19; Job xxi. 22; Prov. ix. 7–9, xv. 12, xix. 25, xxi. 11, cf. xxii. 6; Hos. xi. 3; Dan. viii. 16, xi. 33; also verbs of asking and answering, as 2 Chron. x. 6

(see, on the other hand, ver. 9; 1 Kings xii. 6); 2 Kings viii. 6. And (as has been explained on p. 562 f.) the *thing* may be subordinated in another way, by means of בְּ or אֶל־ (Isa. xxxviii. 19) in the sense of *about, concerning;* also with לְ, when the meaning is to keep a person *at,* or accustom him *to* something, Ps. xviii. 35; Neh. viii. 7. With these verbs are to be classed צִוָּה *to command, order,* Deut. i. 18; and שָׁלַח, *to send,* Jer. xlii. 5. How frequently גָּמַל and שִׁלֵּם *to requite,* are construed in this way is evident from 1 Sam. xxiv. 18, Prov. xiii. 21, cf. Ps. xviii. 21; but עָשָׂה is very rarely so construed; as, מֵתִים אֵבֶל לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה *make no lamentation for the dead,* Ezek. xxiv. 17; the two former verbs may also be construed with the dative of the person, Isa. iii. 9; Deut. xxxii. 6; Ps. cxxxvii. 8. And lastly, the idea of *hiring* follows that of *treating;* hence שָׂכַר takes the accusative of the person and the wages, 2 Sam. x. 6.

The various modes in which the second accusative forms the completion of the member in question, has been shown in § 281*c*.

d. Something different takes place when (according to the construction shown in 278*d*) a verb is combined with a noun in such a way that both together form a perfectly simple idea, to which an object is subordinated; thus, עָשָׂה כָלָה or עָשָׂה בָתָה, *to make completion, destroy,* takes an accusative, Nah. i. 8, Isa. v. 5; a similar case is presented in עָנָה דָבָר, which simply means to *call one to account,* Jer. xliv. 20, cf. Prov. xxii. 21, and דִּבֶּר מִשְׁפָּט *to speak justice, i.e.* to *accuse* a person, frame a lawsuit against him, Isa. xxxii. 7 (in 2 Kings xxv. 6, the expression has a different meaning); while הוֹכִיחַ with לְ may mean *to pronounce judgment to a person,* Isa. ii. 4, xi. 4.

284*a*. A proposition which is already complete in itself, *i.e.* contains a subject and predicate, may, in both of its constituent parts, be governed by an active verb in quite a different way, so that the verb properly governs a whole proposition at once; as, people say אַתָּה נָבִיא *thou art a prophet* (see § 296); also, נְתַתִּיךָ נָבִיא *constitui te prophetam,* Jer. i. 5. Thus:—

(1.) Verbs of *making,* נָתַן, שִׂים, שׁוּת, עָשָׂה; in the case of these, modern languages prefer to separate the more remote object, as portion of a subordinated and yet complete sentence, by means of *for* (to) or *as; e.g.* Germ. *ich machte dich zum*

Propheten, I made thee for (as) *a prophet*, Josh. xxii. 25. Particularly in the case of verbs which signify to *make, build*, however, two kinds of construction are to be distinguished: (*a*) when the material receives the first consideration, and forms the nearest object; as, בָּנָה אֶת־הָאֲבָנִים מִזְבֵּחַ *he built the stones* (into) *an altar*, 1 Kings xviii. 32, cf. Isa. ix. 9; (*b*) when the work executed forms the nearest object, while the material, or rather the mode of execution, comes second, it is without the article [714], as, עָשָׂה אֶת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עֵץ, *he made the altar wood, i.e.* so that it consisted of wood, *wooden*, Ex. xxxvii. 24; Prov. vii. 16. To this category also belong Gen. ii. 7, vi. 14 (*make the ark cells, i.e.* cell-like, *i.e.* so as to consist of cells). Such an idea might also be more fully expressed or understood thus,—*he built the altar* מִזְבֵּחַ עֵץ *as an altar of wood* (see § 287 f.); and it was only because such constructions were generally employed in the Semitic languages, that like abbreviations were ultimately made use of in the accusative also, and even (see § 296*b*) in the simple predicate; cf. Mic. iv. 13.[1]

In this connection may also be mentioned the use of כְּ (see § 282*e*): *thou didst make me* כַּחֹמֶר *as the clay, i.e.* as carefully as when one forms a beautiful work of art out of clay, Job x. 9.

(2.) Verbs of *naming* (which also is a kind of *defining*) and, on the contrary, changing a name; as, הֵסֵב, 2 Kings xxiii. 34.

(3.) Other verbal ideas which indicate any kind of *fixing, determining, making, producing*; as, *he set up the stone* מַצֵּבָה *a pillar, i.e.* for (as) a pillar; *he beats the house* רְסִיסִים *to ruins*, Amos vi. 11 (cf. § 281*e*); still more brief is the construction in יוֹם לַיְלָה הֶחְשִׁיךְ *he darkens day to night*, Amos v. 8. An adjective may also be subordinated as a second object; thus, *write down this man* עֲרִירִי as *childless*, Jer. xxii. 30; Gen. xxxiii. 2; Job xxxix. 5.

In such constructions, indeed, the Hebrew, like our [modern] languages, may also employ לְ *to* (see § 217*d*); this, however,

[1] The same thing is found in the Syriac, *e.g.* Knös, *Chrest.* p. 87, 15; and to a still greater extent in such languages as the Dyak, *Hardeland*, pp. 172, 191. Another reason for the construction lies in the fact that the Semitic languages are averse to the formation of adjectives indicating the material (see § 164*a* [Ges. § 106; Gr. § 254, 6*a*]).

scarcely ever takes place, except when the change of condition is also to be rendered somewhat more prominent, and hence particularly with הָפַךְ to *change to* something, Amos v. 9, Jer. xxxi. 13, Ps. lxvi. 3; similarly, *they anointed him* לְמֶלֶךְ *for king,* so that he became king, 2 Sam. v. 3.[1]

b. In the sphere of more purely mental conceptions, the same force is exercised by the verbs of sense,—seeing, hearing, perceiving; also, those which indicate belief, estimation, opinion, though, in the case of these last, the more remote object may also be distinguished by לְ; as, *he thought* (took) *her* לְשִׁכֹּרָה *for drunk,* 1 Sam. i. 13, Job xiii. 24;[1] while the insertion of כְּ *as,* rather expresses the formation of an arbitrary judgment, Job xviii. 3, xix. 11.

If such a verb be construed with the two objects, then there arises essentially the same construction as that which is called in Latin the *accusative with the infinitive.* And inasmuch as the word which, in the main proposition, would be the predicate, may be of very various character, there are a great many different constructions possible. (1) An *adjective* may be subordinated as the more remote object, thus, מְצָאתִיו טוֹב, *I found him* (it) *good;* or (2) a [715] *noun,* as, יָדַעְתִּי רֶשַׁע כֶּסֶל *I perceive* (consider, regard) *wickedness* as *folly,* Eccles. vii. 25 f.; or (3) any expression which, in meaning, would form the second object, but which has been more fully expanded into a complete proposition; as, *I saw every man* יָדָיו *his hands on his loins, i.e.* holding his loins, Jer. xxx. 6; cf. Hos. vi. 3. A verb, used as the second object, generally takes the *participial* form, because the action is mostly continuous during the time when it is perceived or observed; and it has only been with the rise of modern languages especially, that the less animated construction with the *infinitive* has been employed; as, *they found him* תֹּעֶה *wandering,* Gen. xxxvii. 15, cf. xxvii. 6, Ex. xiv. 9, 2 Sam. vi. 16, Prov. vii. 7 f.; *thou hearest thy servant* מְקַלְלֶךָ *curse thee* (prop. *cursing thee*), Eccles. vii. 21. And when the first object is not expressly co-ordinated, either because it is plainly implied in the context (§ 303*b*), or because the language is indefinite (§ 294), the participle also stands by

[1] [For a full account of such constructions by means of לְ, see Giesebrecht (*Die hebr. Präposition Lamed*), p. 45 ff.]

itself; as, שָׁמַעְתִּי אֹמְרִים *I heard* (them) *speak*, Gen. xxxvii. 17. But when the action, at the moment of its being observed, is actually and already past and done, the *perfect* itself must be subordinated in this way, because the Semitic languages have no perfect participle or perfect infinitive;[1] in that case, however, the subordinated finite verb, as regards the order of the words, must appear only as the second object;[2] thus, רָאֲתָה גוֹיִם בָּאוּ, which in meaning is quite the same as the Lat. *vidit gentes venisse*, Lam. i. 10; Neh. xiii. 23. Only very rarely is this further abbreviated, when one of the objects is an interrogative (§ 325); as, מָה רְאִיתֶם עָשִׂיתִי *quid me fecisse vidistis?* Judg. ix. 48. The same construction is made with the *imperfect*; as, *quid vultis* אֶעֱשֶׂה *me vobis facere?* 2 Sam. xxi. 4. Further, the imperfect might also be subordinated in this way, instead of the participle, as a finite verb (see § 136*b*); the construction, however, is less Hebraistic than Arabic, and is, indeed, so rare, that only one instance seems to occur, and this in poetry, Job xxii. 11.

It is to be observed that, in such a construction, הֵמָּה, in the sense of *eos*, is somewhat freely subordinated (*i.e.* not added in the form of a suffix); this, however, occurs only in Jer. xlvi. 5, Ezek. iii. 15; the proposition which, logically, is subordinate, is then added, but only in a somewhat looser construction, as is so frequently the case in our modern languages. A similar usage is found in Aramean.

The mode in which whole propositions are thus subordinated to verbs signifying to require, permit, or habituate, is more appropriately discussed in §§ 336*b*, 285*e*.

c. When active verbs which govern two objects (see § 281 ff.) become passive or reflexive, the first one, of course, thereby disappears, but the second, more remote one, remains (as in the case of Hophal, see § 133*a*) as the object which indicates closer specification; thus, נִקְרָא שֵׁם *he was called by the name of* . . . 2 Sam. vi. 2; the object which indicates the special part (§ 281*c*) נִמֹּל אֶת־בְּשַׂר עָרְלָתוֹ *circumcisus est præputium suum*, Gen. xvii. 11, 14, 24, 25; the object indicative of fulness, as

[1] The cases given in § 238*d* can scarcely be regarded as indicating the beginning of such a construction.

[2] This is most clearly seen in the Arabic; Ewald's *Gr. Arab.* § 632.

Ex. i. 7, and הַמְסֻכָּן תְּרוּמָה *he who is poor in oblation, i.e.* he who cannot give any such [716] thing, Isa. xl. 20; the accusative of the thing, when two wholly different objects are mentioned (§ 283, *b c*), as, מְלֻבָּשִׁים בְּגָדִים *induti vestes*, 1 Kings xxii. 10, Hab. ii. 19, Ps. xxii. 16, 2 Sam. vi. 14; קָרוּעַ כֻּתָּנְתּוֹ (LXX. *διεῤῥηχὼς τὸν χιτῶνα*), xv. 32; שָׁלוּחַ קָשָׁה *charged, i.e.* commissioned with something *hard*, 1 Kings xiv. 6 (because שָׁלַח, to *send* a person, may mean the same as giving him a charge regarding something, and is thus construed like צִוָּה *to commission*, § 283*c*); the accusative of the predicate (see *a* and *b* of this present section), as in 1 Kings vi. 7. Thus also, indeed, are explained, in accordance with § 283*b*, such brief poetical constructions as יִפָּקֵד רָע *he is visited with evil*, Prov. xix. 23; and יוֹתֵר . . . הִזָּהֵר *be taught by experience*, Eccles. xii. 12; but it has already been remarked (§ 279*c* at the end) that the language is capable of even still further development in this direction.

The Verb with another Verb subordinated.

285*a*. Hitherto, we have been confining our attention merely to a subordinated noun as forming the completion of the idea presented in a verb: in the case mentioned in § 284*b*, the finite verb, which is unavoidably used, has the force merely of a second object. But it is also possible that a verbal idea may find its direct completion in a verb itself. A consideration of the various modes in which a verbal idea may serve to complete and elucidate another, in the course of a sentence, shows that there are two leading methods.

1. The one verbal idea explains merely the circumstances of the other, its nature and manner, or its tense, its relations, and such like features of a more external and accidental character. In the Indo-European languages, completions of this kind are nearly all participles or similar forms, in which the verb is found in a state of transition into a noun. In accordance, however, with the most primitive simplicity of construction, every idea which is conceivable as a verb may also be preserved, along with another, as a finite verb, *i.e.* in its original full and living form; and the modifying verb may appear, along with the leading verb, quite as strong and inde-

pendent, outwardly, as the other, the former being placed first, as a strong verb, while the other is joined with it by means of the conjunction *and*. This simplicity has been pretty well preserved in the Semitic languages generally. Illustrative cases in Hebrew are, וַיָּשָׁב וַיְדַבֵּר *and he returned and spake,* i.e. and he spake again; וַיֹּסֶף וַיֹּאמֶר *and he added, and said, i.e.* said again; and these two same verbs are very frequently employed in such constructions merely for the purpose of expressing our *again* and *more.* The verb הָלַךְ *to go,* which is so constantly met with, is likewise employed, along with another verb, merely to express *gradual increase;* as in the participial phrase, הוֹלֵךְ וְחָזֵק *going and becoming strong, i.e.* always getting stronger, Ex. xix. 19; cf. §§ 280*b* and 168*c*.

Of course, the Hebrew likewise possesses forms by which it can more strictly subordinate such a modifying verb; the *infinitive absolute,* and, more rarely, the infinitive construct with לְ, are especially employed for this purpose (see § 280); or, while [717] the modifying verb still keeps the first place and remains in all its force, the other verb, which is the more important in meaning, is subordinated in the infinitive with לְ (see *b, infra*). This mode of expression has still very much that is akin to the original one already referred to, and is not so familiar in modern languages. Thus, one can say not merely, וַיֹּסֶף לְדַבֵּר *and he added to speak, i.e.* he spake further, but also, הִרְבָּה לְהִתְפַּלֵּל *he did much to pray, i.e.* prayed much, 1 Sam. i. 12; הִגְדִּיל לַעֲשׂוֹת *he made great to do, i.e.* he did (acted) greatly, proudly, Joel ii. 20 f.; קִדַּמְתִּי לִבְרֹחַ *I fled before* [in anticipation], Jonah iv. 2; הֶעֱמִיק לַסְתִּיר *he went deep to hide,* i.e. hid deep (intentionally), Isa. xxix. 15; בָּרָא לַעֲשׂוֹת *he created to make, i.e.* made creatively, Gen. ii. 3; תַּמּוּ לָמוּת *they have completed to die, i.e.* are all dead, Deut. ii. 16; cf. כִּלָּה לִקְצֹר *he completed to reap, i.e.* he wholly reaped, Lev. xix. 9; and, on the other hand, הֵחֵלּוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת *they began to do, i.e.* did for the first time, Esth. ix. 23; and even הִפְלִיא לְהֵעָזֵר *he was wonderfully delivered,* 2 Chron. xxvi. 15; hence also such expressions as הֵיטִיב דַּרְכּוֹ *to make his way good* (well), *i.e.* to get on well, Jer. ii. 33. Such an infinitive, however, in this as in similar cases (see § *b*), may, in accordance with the more terse and elegant poetic style (see § 3*c*), again drop לְ, the excessive use of which is so conspicuous in prose, and assume a position of

simple subordination; thus, יַשֵּׁר לָכֶת *he makes straight to go,* i.e. goes straight forward, Prov. xv. 21; הֶחֱלֵיתִי הַכּוֹת *I have made a wound, beating, i.e.* wounded, Mic. vi. 13; this peculiar mode of expression makes its way even into narrative also, Num. xxii. 15. Notwithstanding the existence of these varieties of construction, the original simplicity of connection between words, already indicated, still continues very prevalent; nay, more, instead of giving way to the more strict subordination of one verbal idea by another, it has finally produced a new mode of connecting words more akin to itself than the subordination, already mentioned, of the second verb by means of the infinitive with לְ; this construction we shall at once explain.

b. The second verb (*i.e.* the verb which, in meaning, is the leading one) may also be subordinated somewhat more palpably by the very fact of its being placed alongside of the preceding verb without a joining *and;* as, יָשׁוּב יִלְטוֹשׁ *he will return, will sharpen, i.e.* will again sharpen,—a mode of construction in which this same שׁוּב is frequently employed, Ps. vii. 13, Gen. xxx. 31, Josh. v. 2, Zech. viii. 15, though it is also construed, in other instances, with לְ and the infinitive, as in Job vii. 7; וְשִׁלַּשְׁתָּ תֵּרֵד *and thou dost on the third day, descendest, i.e.* and thou comest down on the third day, 1 Sam. xx. 19; תַּרְבּוּ תְדַבְּרוּ *ye do much, ye speak, i.e.* ye speak much, 1 Sam. ii. 3, cf. Jer. xiii. 18; הוֹאִיל הָלַךְ *he was willing* (wished), *went, i.e.* went intentionally, Hos. v. 11, cf. vi. 4, ix. 9 (cf. v. 2), xiii. 3; רִצַּץ עָזַב *he crushed, left, i.e.* he left (the poor) crushed, Job xx. 19. It is but seldom that a word is interjected between two such verbs, as in Ps. vii. 13, Isa. iii. 26, xxix. 4, since it rather becomes more and more of essential importance that the one should immediately follow the other, in order to convey the idea of the subordination of the second. We have here, then, an effort [718], on the part of the Semitic languages, to represent an idea by nothing more than a strict arrangement of words, in the way so frequently exemplified in other cases (see § 107*d*): this mode of connecting two verbs is most frequently resorted to in Aramaic,[1] and least employed

[1] But the same holds true with regard to many other languages, in proportion as the verbs in them continue to be comparatively more primitive and numerous, while abstract forms and adverbs are still comparatively

in Arabic; while, in Hebrew, it is met with more frequently in later than in earlier writings; cf. the strong examples in 1 Chron. xiii. 2, Neh. iii. 20.

c. 2. The one verbal-idea describes the immediate consequence of the other, or that which necessarily proceeds from the first; hence, this construction is based on the more strict relation of subordination (see § 281 f.), not, as in the preceding case, on the more loose kind (§ 279). And when the second verb is subordinated, it should properly be put as an accusative of the imperfect, *i.e.* as a subjunctive.[1]

But (*a*) even in this case, the Semitic languages continue to exhibit their original simplicity of construction, in accordance with which, by means of the progressive and stronger *ánd* (230 ff.), they may still join the first verb to the second, as a wholly living form, in full co-ordination, and in complete independence. Thus אוּכַל וְרָאִיתִי *I am able and see,* Esth. viii. 6, because actual seeing can never be anything else than a consequence of the power to see.

(*b*) Here, however, it is, of course, the verb which expresses the necessary consequence of the verbal idea that is, for the most part, subordinated. But since, in Hebrew, the *infinitive* is the proper form to be used when a verb is to be shortly summarised and subordinated, such a verb nearly always finds its completion in that form, and particularly the infinitive with לְ (as in German [and English]). Thus אוּכַל לְהִלָּחֶם *I am able to fight,* Num. xxii. 11; לֹא אָבָה לָלֶכֶת *he would not,* was unwilling (properly, had no desire to) *go;* מֵאֵן לְהִנָּחֵם *he refused to let himself be comforted.* Certainly, the infinitive may also be subordinated without using this לְ, just as in the Latin, but such a construction is rare in prose; as, לֹא אֵדַע בֹּוא *I know not* [how] *to go in,* 1 Kings iii. 7 (but in ver. 11 with לְ), cf. Ex. xix. 12, Num. xxii. 13, 14 (where the construction varies): such a simple form of the infinitive is found, for the most part, only in poetry, as נִלְאֵיתִי נְשֹׂא *I am wearied to bear* [with bearing], Isa. i. 14, Jer. ix. 4, xv. 6; מֵאֵן לְהִכָּלֵם *he would*

rare; *e.g.* the Sechuana, according to Casalis, p. 45; *American Oriental Journal,* i. p. 419.

[1] As is shown by the Ethiopic; on the other hand, the Arabic has accustomed itself to use the subjunctive only after a conjunction appropriate for the purpose.

not be ashamed, Jer. iii. 3; cf. v. 3 (where there is a change from the simple construction to that with לְ), Amos iii. 10, Job xiii. 3, cf. ix. 3, Isa xi. 9, cf. Hab. ii. 14: similarly, with a participle, עֲתִיד עֹרֵר *paratus excitare*, Job iii. 8. It is still more rare to find the *infin. absol.* thus subordinated, in poetry; see examples cited in § 240*a* [Isa. vii. 15, 16 (but see, on the other hand, viii. 4), xlii. 24]. Many verbs may be regarded as capable either of this mode of construction, or of that which has been indicated in § *a*; such is חָדַל *to cease*, which might well adopt the construction indicated in § *a*, though in actual fact it is always construed with לְ.

[719] Moreover, (*c*) the *imperfect* also may be subordinated in this way; it is put in its most ready form, since the Hebrew, in this case, has no means of distinguishing such an accusative; as, יָדַעְתִּי אֲכַנֶּה *I know* [how] *to flatter*. But this construction is more Arabic than Hebrew, and occurs only very seldom in the latter language, being used merely by some later poetic writers, as Job xxxii. 22, Isa. xlii. 21, Lam. iv. 14.[1]

d. Though, in accordance with § 217*b*, verbs signifying to *desist, cease*, or *be ashamed*, are mostly construed with the infinitive by means of the preposition מִן *from*, yet, since the meaning of the whole is pretty clear from the subordination of the verb in the infinitive, they may gradually also be construed, in a more simple manner, by means of the usual לְ, with the infinitive; as, בֹּשְׁתִּי לִשְׁאוֹל *I am ashamed to ask*, Ezra viii. 22; a still stronger case occurs in iv. 4.

On the contrary, when the idea of a comparison between two objects, a higher and a lower, is contained in the preposition מִן, the infinitive also must regularly be construed with it; in such a case, the more simple infinitive with לְ is

[1] Also Num. xxii. 6, אוּכַל נַכֶּה *I am able to smite*; here, the sudden transition from the first pers. *sing.* into the *plur.* finds its explanation in the mental condition of the speaker (who is doubtful whether he can accomplish the deed *alone*). At least it is utterly impossible, by changing the points, to read the word נְכֹה, as the inf. Qal (see § 170). But in Hebrew we cannot think of attributing the irregularity to the weakness and confusion displayed in more modern Semitic languages, which, instead of the *singular*, put the first person *plural* of the imperfect, merely on account of its greater strength.

scarcely ever deemed sufficient, as in our modern languages; thus, צָעִיר לִהְיוֹת *small, i.e.* unworthy *to be* among the cities of Judah, Mic. v. 1, instead of which we find elsewhere the more exact expression מִהְיוֹת *too small to be;* cf. further § 336*b*. The מִן, on the contrary, is so essentially necessary for expressing the definite idea *too much* (*nimis*), that we must even say רַב מִהְיוֹת קֹלֹת prop. *it is more than that there should be thunders, i.e.* there have been already too many thunders, Ex. ix. 28.

e. Certain verbs may gradually receive a non-sensuous meaning of so refined a shade, as no longer to indicate anything but a relation to the action, or even the being engaged in the act, or the being in a state or condition; such verbs of themselves require some fuller statement in order to complete the idea they contain. This is given especially in the shape of a more definite verb, or some other kind of predicate; and from the fact of their needing such completion, they might be called *incomplete* verbs, just as there are, similarly, incomplete nouns (see § 209*c* [examples are כֹּל, דֵּי, יֵשׁ, אֵין, etc.]). Besides the substantive verb הָיָה *to be,* there are used

(1.) Verbs of acting, or living, and being in a particular time and position; these the Semitic languages still prefer to retain in their original living form, while modern languages rather seek to express the ideas they represent by means of attributives [adjectives or adverbs].[1] Such verbs, accordingly, are construed [720] almost wholly in the way described above, under § *a, b;* as, הִשְׁכִּים הָלָךְ *he morninged, went, i.e.* he departed early in the morning, Hos. vi. 4 (§ 280*c*); but they also like to be construed with the *participle,* or the *infinitive;* cf. § 289*b*.

(2.) Verbs signifying ability, knowledge, or fitness to act; these also describe an action which is assumed to be possible; hence they may be construed with the participle, as describing the circumstance still more vividly than the subordinated

[1] The Greeks often, in such cases, continue to employ a fully declined adjective, which gives somewhat more force and life to the expression; as, ἦλθε δευτεραῖος *he came on the third day;* γενόμεναι ὀρθριναί, Luke xxiv. 22, precisely like أَصْبَحْنَ; πάννυχοι διατελοῦντες, Philo against Flaccus ii. p. 535.

imperfect, or even the mere infinitive (see § *c*): thus, יֹדֵעַ מְנַגֵּן *one who knows how to play*, 1 Sam. xvi. 16; יִצְלַח יֹשֵׁב *he shall be fit to sit*, Jer. xxii. 30. This construction appears most readily in the case of such an expression as, *it is vain for you*, which, in our modern languages, would be followed by *to do this* or that: such, indeed, is also the usual construction in Hebrew, though the *participle* also may be used, Ps. cxxvii. 2.[1]

SECOND KIND OF WORD-GROUPS.

Words in attraction (in the construct state):[2] *the Genitival and other similar relations.*

286*a*. The proper completion of the noun is the *construct state* (see § 208 ff., [and footnote, p. 28]); but, besides this, another noun may be subordinated to it in the accusative; or the noun may be accompanied by another in mere co-ordination (apposition). We have thus to inquire what form these three possible constructions assume; and how, when all three are insufficient, it may become necessary to use a preposition for joining words. We shall also have to describe here the various uses to which the construct state is applied, as well as its consequences, all of which are of great importance in the whole arrangement of a sentence.

1*st*. *Extension of the chain of words.*

I. The attraction of a word (or, to use at once a briefer expression, the *word-chain*) is most necessary and strong, when a noun in its most proper form (*i.e.* as a substantive) has to subordinate another of like force and independence, in order to complete its meaning; *e.g.* when *house* and *father*, or even *son* and *son*, are to become related. Here, co-ordination is not

[1] In Greek and Syriac also, the verb, in such cases, likes to be followed by the participle.

[2] [The construct state has been most fully investigated by Dr. Fried. W. M. Philippi in a special monograph (*Wesen und Ursprung des Status constructus im Hebräischen*, Weimar 1871), to which advanced students may be at once referred.]

enough, since this merely connects words which gradually explain themselves (see § 293); nor is loose subordination of the second noun in the accusative sufficient, because such a relation affords no firm hold, or any close bond of connection between the two words; nothing but the strict subordination of the second word to the first, or the formation of a word-chain, gives, in such a case (see § 209 f.), the sense of our modern genitive; as, בֵּית הָאָב *house of the father*, בֶּן־הַבֵּן *the son of the son.* The first word of the chain is thus [721] always a pure substantive, or an adjective with the force of a noun, as, קְטֹן בָּנָיו *the little* one (or, the smallest) *of his sons;* it may also (though this is exceptional) be an adverb endowed once more with the force of a substantive, as, אֶמֶשׁ *yesterday evening* (properly, simply evening, darkness; from the root מָשָׁה), in the language of the book of Job xxx. 3, *the dark night of desolation and waste, i.e.* the darkest desolation and waste; cf. Job viii. 9 and § 269*d*. The second word is (*a*) an ordinary substantive, or (*b*) a pronoun which has in itself the force of a noun;[1] or (*c*) an adjective which has been raised to the position and power of a substantive; or even (*d*) an entire proposition, which, in force, even surpasses the noun [as, *the day* (on which) *God spake;* see § 286*i*].

b. If the first noun signifies action or suffering, it may refer to the second either (1) in such a way that the action must be regarded as arising from the latter (genitive of the *subject*), or (2) so that it is itself the object of the action (genitive of the *object*). The context will always readily give the special meaning; modern languages, however, mostly mark the latter case by means of prepositions; *e.g.* פַּחְדִּי *my fear, i.e.* fear which I have, or, *fear of me;* זִכְרְךָ *thy remembrance, i.e.* which thou hast, or *remembrance of thee;* כַּעְסוֹ *his vexation, i.e.* which he feels, Prov. xii. 16, Job vi. 2, or *vexation regarding him,* Deut. xxxii. 27; דְּבָרוֹ *his word,* which he speaks, but possibly also, the word concerning him, Isa. xliv. 26, compared with xlii. 19, xlvi. 10 f.; חֲמַס יְדֵיכֶם *the cruelty of your hands,* but חֲמַס לְבָנֹן *the cruelty of Lebanon,* which it suffers, Hab. ii. 17; שְׁמֻעַת שָׁאוּל *the report about Saul,* 2 Sam. iv. 4; אֵבֶל יָחִיד *mourning for an only son,* Amos viii. 10; דַּרְכִּי *my way,* but דֶּרֶךְ הָעֵץ

[1] [Hence, a noun with a suffix must be regarded as in the construct state before the pronominal fragment.]

the way to the tree, Gen. iii. 24. The participle also has the force of a substantive in cases such as קָמַי *my adversaries;*[1] מְהֹלָלַי *my ragers, i.e.* my raging enemies, Ps. cii. 9; but צֹרְרֵי יְהוּדָה may also mean, when the connection of the whole plainly requires it, *the oppressors of Judah, i.e.* out of Judah, Isa. xi. 13.

c. Proper names are in themselves too definite and full in their meaning, and hence also too rigid and inflexible, to enter readily into such a combination as its *first* member. Some cases, however, do occur; and these have established themselves mainly through their being very often used. But such nouns are less frequently names of *persons,* as in the expression יַהְוֶה צְבָאוֹת *Jahve of Hosts* (which is also found elsewhere in the fuller form יַהְוֶה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת *Jahve, the God of Hosts*) than names of *towns;* as, גַּת פְּלִשְׁתִּים *Gath of the Philistines, i.e.* the Philistine [city] Gath (as in Latin, *Ascalon Judææ*), Amos vi. 2, Deut. xxiii. 5, 1 Sam. xvii. 12, 1 Kings iv. 12 f. Yet it is not uncommon also to find here the more loose construction described in § 292*b;* cf. 1 Kings xv. 27, xvii. 9. The strongest possible cases of such a kind [722], however, are דַּמֶּשֶׂק אֱלִיעֶזֶר *Damascus* (the city) *of Eliezer,* Gen. xv. 2, *Zion of the Holy One of Israel,* Isa. lx. 14.[2]

d. The first member of the series may merely set forth the *relations* in which the following word stands to space, number, existence, and nature, etc. The first word is then a purely mental conception with an imperfect reference, having no independent position, and partaking of the nature of a particle; while the second is, outwardly, the most stable and important. The attraction between the two, when it takes place, is very close and strong; but, just because the first merely describes a relation, it may, if still retaining a somewhat more indepen-

[1] It is clear from § 282*a* how שְׁכֵנִי *my dweller,* Ps. xxxi. 11, may come to have the meaning of *one who dwells near me, my neighbour;* but the Arabic goes still further than this in its use of the words جليسى *he who is sitting with me,* اكيلى, شريبى, which, in their original meaning, always require such a reference; cf. Tabrizi, *Hamâsa,* p. 729.

[2] The same construction may also be used in Arabic, especially in poetry; thus, we can say قَيْسُهُ *his Qais,* Hamâsa, p. 193, second last line; cf. other instances there, pp. 244, 21; 239, 12.

dent meaning and extensive reference, more easily free itself from the construction, liberate the word subordinated, and assume a more unfettered position in the sentence. Under such *imperfect nouns,* as they have been already named (§ 209*c*), are classed the following:—

1. The simple numerals from *two* to *ten* inclusive, also מֵאָה and אֶלֶף, which, as being originally nouns, are to be placed first, in the construct state (see § 267*c, d* [Ges. § 120, 1*a;* Gr. § 250, 2 (2); Dav. § 48, 5]), and hence also may be joined with suffixes; thus, שְׁנֵי לְאֻמִּים *two peoples,* שְׁתֵּי נָשִׁים *two women,* שְׁנֵינוּ prop. *the pair of us,* i.e. *we two,* שְׁנֵיהֶם *they two,* or *both* (for which the Aramean also has no special word), as is shown in § 267*b*, שְׁלָשְׁתָּם *they three.* But they may also be separated, and stand alone, without the closer subordination; see further, § 267 [Ges. § 120, 1*b, c;* Gr. § 250, 2 (1), (3); Dav. § 485]. Of the numerals from *three* to *ten,* joined with feminine nouns, שְׁבַע, תְּשַׁע, חֲמֵשׁ, and שְׁלֹשׁ are thus used, in the Old Testament, as constructs, only before another numeral with which they are closely joined, or at least before a noun which is, in some way or other, more closely defined, as in Ex. xxvi. 3, 9; and with these we must class שְׁלָשׁ־אֵלֶּה *these three,* Ex. xxi. 11, as well as the instance found in Gen. xviii. 6. Similarly, מִשְׁנֶה *double,* is either put in the construct state, Deut. xv. 18, or used adverbially, *doubled;* in the latter case, it is either placed before the word it modifies, Jer. xvii. 18, Gen. xliii. 15, or after it, Ex. xvi. 22 [cf. § 287*b*]. Very high numbers also readily take up their position after a word put in the construct state; as, הַרְרֵי אָלֶף *mountains of* (or *to the number of*) *a thousand,* Ps. l. 10, 2 Chron. i. 6, compared with 1 Kings iii. 4; and when we find that, in poetic language, רִבְבוֹת אֲלָפִים *myriads of thousands,* Num. x. 36, is used interchangeably with אַלְפֵי רְבָבָה, Gen. xxiv. 60, it would appear that the first word stands in the construct state merely for the purpose of connecting the two (see § 270*d*).

The numeral אֶחָד *one,* though mostly used as an adjective, may nevertheless be also subordinated to its noun, put in the construct state; as, מִשְׁפַּט אֶחָד *one law,* Lev. xxiv. 22, אֲרוֹן אֶחָד *a chest,* 2 Kings xii. 10 (2 Chron. xxiv. 8), פַּחַת אַחַד *one Pasha,* Isa. xxxvi. 9 (2 Kings xviii. 24).

e. כֹּל properly *all, totality,* is always used only in the con-

struct state, for the German [and English] *all* and *whole;* cf. further, § 290*c*. And though the word, as answering to the idea [723] of an *adjective,* is sometimes also placed (in apposition) after the noun it modifies, the latter, which has been already mentioned, must again be represented in the suffix of כֹּל, since the word always continues to be a noun; thus, יִשְׂרָאֵל כֻּלֹּה *all Israel.* It is but rarely that כֹּל, becoming more inflexible, is used by itself for the perfectly definite *everything,* or *all, every one,* Gen. viii. 21, ix. 3, xvi. 12, Jer. xliv. 12; then by degrees also הַכֹּל, with the article, for *the whole, all,* Ps. xlix. 18, xiv. 4, Dan. xi. 2; cf. § 290*c*, and Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* ii. p. 343. However, particularly where it is applied to persons, and means *every one,* it often resumes its original necessary reference, at least when a neuter suffix is assumed; thus, כֻּלּוֹ *every one* (of them), Isa. i. 23, ix. 16, Hab. i. 9, 15, Jer. vi. 13, viii. 6, 10, xv. 10, xx. 7, Ps. xxix. 9.

With these we may further class רֹב *multitude of,* דֵּי *fulness of, i.e.* much, enough of; as, רֹב שָׁלוֹם *much peace,* רֹב כֹּחַ *all power,* omnipotence, דֵּי חָלָב *milk enough,* and some others; cf. § 209*c*. The word יַחְדָּו (which has been explained under § 258*c*), since it no longer means anything more than *together,* is gradually shortened, by dropping the suffix, into the simple יַחַד, which form is also found, in simple narrative, in the Books of Samuel, but is quite unknown in the Pentateuch (except in the Song, Deut. xxxiii. 5). The opposite of the meaning presented in this last word is given by the compound לְבַדּוֹ *he alone* (לְבַדְּכֶם *ye alone*), prop. for his being alone, so that he is alone[1] (see § 217*d*), which is always to be construed in this way with suffixes, if not joined with a more definite noun; but it is slow to connect itself with such a word, and, when it does enter into the connection, always

[1] In this and all similar cases, the Arabic does not need the לְ, since it possesses an accusative which is clear enough in itself, وَحْدَهُ, Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* § 562. The Ethiopic goes still further in this, since it even makes such a form as *ghĕrâqĕyă, I naked;* see the *Götting. Gel. Anz.* for 1857, p. 1087 [Dillmann, *Grammatik,* § 174, 1*a;* 189*b*]. Here, again, the nearest to the Hebrew is the Coptic, with its ⲙⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ, which has arisen from a combination of the prepositional particle *en,* corresponding to לְ, with *vauat* (abstract of ⲟⲩⲁ *one*).

seeks the help of the preposition מִן (which so well accords with its meaning, see § 217*b*), in the way more fully described in § 270*b*; hence also, לְבַד occurs less readily by itself as a mere attributive (adverb), meaning *alone*. Words like זוּלָתִי *except* (see § 211*b*) are even found quite loosely, as mere attributives, at the head of a proposition, or somewhere in it, 1 Kings iii. 18; but they may further also be construed with suffixes, as, זוּלָתָהּ *except it*, 1 Sam. xxi. 10.

f. 2. Words that express some kind of existence: nouns which are still used elsewhere, in their full [concrete] meaning, may likewise be employed, in the same way, as purely mental concepts. This remark applies specially to נֶפֶשׁ *soul* = independent life = *self*, which is used to express our *self*, Lat. *ipse*, where this idea would not otherwise be sufficiently clear (cf. § 105*f*); the word is, however, still chiefly used with reference to animate beings, or those [724] resembling them, Isa. xlvi. 2, and especially with the suffixes, to express the reflexive; as, נַפְשִׁי *my soul, i.e.* I myself, נַפְשָׁם *they themselves*. When, however, prominence is rather to be assigned to the whole *person*, in his external appearance, פְּנֵי *face of*, is used instead; as, פָּנַי *my person, i.e.* I myself, Ex. xxxiii. 14 f., 2 Sam. xvii. 11. For inanimate objects, עֶצֶם *bone*, body, is preferably used, in the same sense; as, עֶצֶם הַשָּׁמַיִם *heaven itself*, Ex. xxiv. 10; and, when followed by הַהוּא (according to § 105*f*), the reference is to what precedes: *the very same*, Gen. vii. 13.

דָּבָר *word, affair, thing*, in the construct state, often serves merely to form a new idea which might be presented in a neuter noun; as, דְּבַר יוֹם בְּיוֹם [*a daily matter in a day*, what happens daily], Ger. *das tägliche*, see p. 534, line 3 f.; דִּבְרֵי עֲוֹנוֹת *things of sins, i.e.* what is iniquitous, as neut. plur. in Ps. lxv. 4. A different case is presented when (as shown in § 278*b*) it is intentionally left quite indefinite in the chain of words; as, דְּבַר בְּלִיַּעַל *something of mischief*, something evil, Ps. xli. 9; or when it is put still more strongly, as the second member of the series, in such a construction as, עֶרְוַת דָּבָר *a nakedness of anything*, or any kind of nakedness, Deut. xxiii. 15, xxiv. 1.

קוֹל־ *voice of* . . . used by itself in this manner, with its subordinated word or particle, simply means our *hark!* as,

קוֹל דּוֹדִי *hark,—my friend!* Cant. ii. 8, v. 2; in such a case, a verb may follow, but only under the conditions described in § 322*a*; as, קוֹל יְהוָה יִקְרָא *hark, Jahve calls!* see Ps. xxix. 3–9, where the same construction and meaning are sustained throughout. Since the word, construed in such a way, may merely bear something of the meaning of our adverb *loud, aloud,* it may even take a preposition before it again; . . . מִקּוֹל *loud from the choirs of song—there let them praise,* Judg. v. 11. But, as in the cases mentioned in § *h* below, such a combination of words may also be placed by itself as a complete proposition, at least after כִּי *because;* as, קוֹל שׁוֹפָר *the trumpet waxes loud,* Job xxxix. 24.

g. Small words which have the force of a negative merely on the idea presented by a noun in the singular, must, in Semitic, precede such noun, in the construct state, and be immediately followed by this governed noun, the opposite of which is meant to be expressed. The particles employed for this, in prose, are אֵין and בִּלְתִּי (see § 211*b*), the latter of which, however, is used only to a very limited extent (see § 322*a*); but in poetry, there are also used, in this way, בְּלִי and the very short particles לֹא and אַל, which, in prose, can only be used to negative a whole proposition, and hence have the force of adverbs (§ 320*a*). These words thus correspond, in the construct state, to our *without,* or *non-* [*in-*, *un-*, *-less*], and are joined, in prose, only with substantives; as, אֵין מִסְפָּר *without number* [numberless, unnumbered, innumerable],[1] אֵין נָקִי

[1] Arabic لا with the oblique case, and without nunnation; see Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* ii. p. 45 [Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, ii. 39, 1]. For لا رَيْبَ certainly forms, at first, a combination like our *without doubt;* and only afterwards, through taking the expression by itself, does there arise from it the meaning of *no doubt*, i.e. *there is no doubt.* Hence, originally at least, the noun has been subordinated in the genitive; this subordination, too, has been so strict, and the idea is, in the case when لا *not*, is alone employed, so exclusively formed by the mere juxtaposition of the words, that, from the influence of the لا, even the nunnation at the end is neglected. The English *no man, no doubt*, correspond pretty well to this. When the subordination gradually becomes more loose, and passes over into the accusative, this is merely the same thing as when (see § 262*d*) אֵינְכֶם may finally become אֵין אֶתְכֶם. Cf. Baidhavi on Sura xxxvii. 37, and the line in *Hamâsa*, p. 227, 16.

without one *free* [725], *i.e.* without one being exempt, 1 Kings xv. 22; אֵין מִלְחָמָה *without war,* 1 Kings xxii. 1; בְּלִי מַיִם *without water,* Job viii. 11; but, in poetry, any infinitive also may be subordinated by these words, as, אֵין הָבִין *without intelligence,* Ps. xxxii. 9; also, any adjective or participle, as, בְּלִי מָשִׁיחַ *not anointed,* 2 Sam. i. 21; בְּלִי נִשְׁמָע *unheard,* Ps. xix. 4; אִי־נָקִי *not blameless* (§ 215*b*). Poets may even avail themselves of this mode of compounding, in order to form, out of nouns, new adjectives (see § 270*c*), which, however, are for the most part used almost solely as predicates; thus, אֵין אֱיָל one *without strength, i.e.* feeble, Ps. lxxxviii. 5, Prov. xxv. 3, 28, xxviii. 27, Jer. v. 21, 2 Chron. xiv. 10; בְּלִי שֵׁם one *without name,* i.e. *ignobilis,* Job xxx. 8; לֹא לְשָׂבְעָה what is *not for satisfaction, i.e.* what cannot satisfy, Isa. lv. 2. It is, however, to be observed that such combinations of words in a sentence may always occupy a somewhat more dependent position (*i.e.* never be used simply as the subject), in such a way that their connection with the rest of the words in the proposition throws light on their meaning in it. But a substantive in the singular may also be subordinated more loosely to the sentence by means of בְּלֹא *with not, i.e.* without, just like a preposition; see Num. xxxv. 22 f., 1 Chron. xii. 17, 33, 2 Chron. xxi. 20; and in poetry even לֹא simply, as in Job xii. 24, xxxiv. 24, xxxviii. 26, Ps. lix. 4, 2 Sam. xxiii. 4, (in prose, only 1 Chron. ii. 30, 32).

In poetry, but only sometimes, and when special emphasis is intended, the simplest negative particle is prefixed to a noun singular, in order to form a sharp negation of the idea in the noun; as, לֹא אֵל *a non-god,* idol, Deut. xxxii. 5, 17, 21, Jer. xvi. 20, Amos vi. 13, 2 Chron. xiii. 9; with the infinitive, or any other form having a similar meaning, אַל [the subjective negative] is joined; as, אַל־מָוֶת, which is exactly like the Greek *τὸ μὴ θνήσκειν, immortality,* Prov. xii. 28, xxx. 31; cf. the expression שִׂים לְאַל *bring to nought, εἰς μηδέν,* Job xxiv. 25.

h. The whole family of particles (more fully discussed in § 299*a*) which, without being verbs, yet have their meaning, and which may therefore be briefly designated nominal-verbs, consists of nouns (except such words as הִנֵּה *behold,* and אַיֵּה *where?*) originally in the construct state, which require their proper complement; see § 262 [Ges. § 100, 5; Gr. § 236].

They may also be combined with one another in order to represent more exactly the idea intended; thus, in 1 Sam. xxi. 9, אֵין יֶשׁ־ more precisely indicates what is elsewhere more briefly expressed by the simple אַיִן (see § 213*e*); a similar combination is אַפְסִי עוֹד *there is none besides*, Zeph. ii. 15, Isa. xlvii. 8, 10, ִי— being the mark of the construct state (see § 211*b* [Ges. § 90, 3*a*; Gr. § 218; Dav. § 17, 1]; cf. 2 Sam. ix. 3. Hence also, יֵשׁ by itself, in an [726] incomplete proposition, means no more than *existence of*; but the whole of them may also be regarded as forming separate propositions, as we have already seen in the similar case of קוֹל (§ *f* above); and יֵשׁ, as the particle which indicates simple existence, or affirms that a thing is not wanting, is now only used in this way, quite independently, as in the proposition יֵשׁ אָדָם *there exist* (or there are) *men*. For further details, see §§ 299*a*, 321.

i. 3. Lastly, substantives which, similarly, only in a quite general sense define the place, time, or kind and manner of the expression which follows, may be placed, in the construct state, before an entire proposition; as, בְּיוֹם דִּבֶּר יַהְוֶה *on the day God spake, i.e.* on the day on which (or when) God spake; עֵת *time when, i.e.* at the time when, Ex. vi. 28, 1 Sam. xxv. 15, Job vi. 17, xxix. 2, Ps. xlix. 6*b*, lvi. 4, Jer. ii. 17, Ezek. xxvii. 34; עַל־דְּבַר אֲשֶׁר לֹא קִדְּמוּ *on account of the thing that, i.e.* because, *they did not anticipate*, Deut. xxiii. 5; cf. § 222*a*, above, and § 332*c*, *d*, below.

287*a*. II. The exact opposite of the constructions hitherto described, in which essentially dissimilar elements are connected, and one substantive acts forcibly on another, is formed by the complement of a substantive, in the shape of a word which merely describes its character or its contents. Such additions, viewed with regard to their meaning, are much more loosely connected with the substantive round which they are gathered, and which, in meaning, must always remain the leading word. Hence,

1. If an *adjective* or a pronoun be joined with its substantive, for the purpose of rendering the latter more definite, the former is regularly co-ordinated, not subordinated to the other; cf. § 293*a*. Of course, by making a further extension of its use, the construct state might be employed for the purpose of forming a closer connection between the following

adjective and its substantive,[1] and some few initiatory steps in this direction have, certainly, been taken by the Semitic languages also; but these have always been more in the line of making such completions follow somewhat loosely, than in the way of forming a close connection by means of the construct state. The rare instances of this description, in which the construct state is used in Hebrew, seem to belong merely to the somewhat later stages of the language, when it was becoming less steady in its character; and they are almost wholly confined to the definite mode of expression, in which the article, instead of being twice employed (see § 293*a*), is prefixed only to the adjective following; while the noun, just because it stands without the article, is more closely attached to the succeeding word, and the article, thus placed between the two, binds them more firmly together. Such is the case when the number of a year is given; as, בִּשְׁנַת הָרְבִיעִית *in the fourth year*, Jer. xxxii. 1 (*Kethib*), xlvi. 2, li. 59, 2 Kings xvii. 6, while, in other places, we find instead בַּשָּׁנָה הָרְבִיעִית (compare, however, the positions of שְׁנַת [727] under kindred circumstances, as shown below, in § *k*); also, when ideas frequently recur together; as, [בְּדֶרֶךְ הַטּוֹבָה וְהַיְשָׁרָה *in the good and upright way*, 1 Sam. xii. 23]; דַּם הַנָּקִי *the innocent blood*, Jer. xxii. 17, Deut. xix. 13, which occurs along with הַדָּם הַנָּקִי, and (without the article) דָּם נָקִי, Deut. xxi. 8 f.; תְּאֵנֵי הַבַּכּוּרוֹת *early figs*, Jer. xxiv. 2.[2] Besides what has now been mentioned, it is chiefly ideas often used, such as *great*, *bad*, etc., that enter into these and other looser constructions (see § 293*b*), which are rather more frequently met with in later poets than in earlier writers; thus, חֲמַת רַבָּה *Great Hamath*, Amos vi. 2 (for the name of the city, under other circumstances, is written חֲמָת, see 173*d*); גֵּיא גְדוֹלָה *a large ravine*, Zech. xiv. 4 (cf. § 146*f*); בֵּית גָּדוֹל *large house*, 2 Kings xxv. 9, cf. Jer. lii. 13; חֵיל כָּבֵד *strong force*, 2 Kings xviii. 17, Isa. xxxvi. 2, these nouns, of course, being of such a character that their root-vowel is readily shortened (see § 146*e*); מַלְאֲכֵי רָעִים *evil angels*, Ps. lxxviii. 49; עִנְיַן רַע *sore vexation*, Eccles.

[1] Like the Indo-Germanic compounds *mahârâjâ*, *great king*, etc.; or rather, as the اضافة [*izāfat*], in Persian, joins adjectives.

[2] Also more briefly and simply בִּכּוּרָה, in the singular, *a* being changed into *i*; see §§ 155*f*, 188*g*.

i. 13, v. 13. To this category also belongs the construction מַכַּת בִּלְתִּי סָרָה a *blow without ceasing, i.e.* a continuous stroke, Isa. xiv. 6, but probably not the expression נִטְעֵי נְעָמִים, Isa. xvii. 10, as if it meant *pleasant plants.*[1] Where the adjective, though without the article, nevertheless possesses in itself the force of a definite word, the genitival relation is, of course, admissible; as, מְקוֹם קָדוֹשׁ *the place of the holy one, i.e.* the holy place, Eccles. viii. 10, מְקוֹם פְּלֹנִי־אַלְמֹנִי *the place of so and so* (the speaker omitting more definite mention of the name, as no longer necessary to the narrative, like فى مقام كذا وكذا), 2 Kings vi. 8; cf. § 332*c*. The union-vowel ִ־י is indeed still used pretty freely; but, as the old remains of what is, properly speaking, no longer a living form, its [occasional] employment cannot at once be taken as a model and rule.

This possibility of using the construct state to join an adjective [with its noun] attains fuller development only when the adjective is placed after its substantive, like a neuter, so as simply to present the idea it contains, and thus in as short a form as possible, without any further indication of gender and number; whereas, in the Indo-Germanic, when combined in this way, it precedes its noun. This brief construction is occasionally met with, at least among the poetic writers, particularly when the most general adjectival-ideas *good, bad, little,* and such like, are employed; by such a combination, however [728], which is still more rare than those already mentioned, the adjective receives somewhat greater prominence; examples are יֵין הַטּוֹב *the best wine,* Cant. vii. 10; אֵשֶׁת רָע *bad woman,* or *most wicked woman,* Prov. vi. 24; cf. ii. 9, 12, 14, xxiv. 25, Ps. xxi. 4, xciv. 13, Jer. v. 28; כְּלֵי הַקָּטֹן *the smallest vessels,* Isa. xxii. 24; מֵי מָלֵא *most abundant water,* Ps. lxxiii. 10; נַהֲרוֹת אֵיתָן

[1] A rendering more suitable for the context is, *plantation of Adonises* (*i.e.* strange gods); נַעֲמָן was probably a name of the Syrian Adonis, and only afterwards used as a name for men among the Syrians and Arabs, as the river near Accho [Acre], called Belus, which is pretty nearly synonymous, is still so called; see Seetzen's Travels, ii. p. 101 [Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine,* p. 328]. Whether מִקְסַם in Ezek. xii. 24 (cf. xiii. 7) is in the construct state, might be open to question, but the cases in xxiii. 14, xxiv. 12, are more plain. In Neo-Hebraic, cases like אוּנְקְלֵי שֶׁלּוֹ are possible; M. *Megilla* iv. 8.

everlasting streams, Ps. lxxiv. 15;[1] also Isa. xxviii. 1, 4, on which see § 289*a*. The words יָמִין *the right*, and שְׂמֹאל *the left*, may, certainly, have been originally adjectives; but, on account of the more easy combination by means of the construct state, they have now merely the force of substantives which are to be subordinated (or even to be used alone); as, יַד הַיָּמִין *the right hand*, שׁוֹק הַיָּמִין *the right leg*.

c. 2. Ideas which, in accordance with the form which the Hebrew language, in the course of its development, has actually assumed, are most easily expressed by means of attributives (adverbs), or compounds formed by using prepositions, or in some other similar way, are more often put merely in the outward form of co-ordination with their noun, than subordinated to it by a closer bond of connection. Simple co-ordination takes place when prepositions are used, as in the case, עֶזְרָתִי בִי *my help in me, i.e.* my inward help (because such an idea as *inward* would need to be expressed otherwise with much greater prolixity), Job vi. 13, cf. iv. 21, xx. 2, Hab. ii. 4, Isa. xix. 3; moreover, in the expression אֹיְבַי בְּנֶפֶשׁ *my foes against the soul, i.e.* my mortal enemies, Ps. xvii. 9, cf. Ezek. xxv. 6, 15. Very many attributives are thus co-ordinated in their shortest possible form. In prose, indeed, it is only certain constantly recurring words which are found thus employed, especially הַרְבֵּה *much* (see § 280*c*); as, עֵצִים הַרְבֵּה *logs* [pieces of wood] *much, i.e.* many logs, Isa. xxx. 33; בְּשָׂמִים הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד *very many spices*, 1 Kings x. 10; and מְעַט *little*, as, אֲנָשִׁים מְעַט *few people*, Neh. ii. 12; גּוֹיִם לֹא מְעָט *not a few nations*, Isa. x. 7. This מְעַט, however, because it was originally a substantive (§ 147), also very frequently, and much more readily than הַרְבֵּה (see § 280*c*), assumes the construct state and subordinates a word succeeding it; as, מְעַט מַיִם *parum aquae*, מְעַט דְּבַשׁ *a little* (of) *honey*, מְעַט הַצֹּאן *the few sheep*, 1 Sam. xvii. 28. The difference between the two constructions, then, is this, that a word which signifies a thing, or one of the lower animals, is more easily subordinated than a word applied to men. The poetic writers, on the other hand, everywhere make large use of this brief and easy method of construction; as, אֶבֶן דּוּמָם *the stone dumb*,

[1] Cf. a similar usage in Arabic; see Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* ii. p. 29; and כְּלֵי לָבָן *white clothes*, M. *Ta'anith*, iv. 8.

i.e. the dumb stone, Hab. ii. 19 (cf. § 204*b*); כּוּשׁ בֶּטַח *Cush secure* (careless), *i.e.* the careless Cush, Ezek. xxx. 9; עֶזְרָתֵנוּ הֶבֶל [1] *our help vain, i.e.* our vain help, Lam. iv. 17, and the frequently occurring expressions אֹיְבַי שֶׁקֶר or אֹיְבַי חִנָּם *my groundless foes, i.e.* foes who have no grounds for their enmity, Ps. xxxv. 19, lxix. 5, Lam. iii. 52; cf. further, § 291*b*.

d. Besides this, however, there is also found the closer construction, which is (1st) readily employed before attributives; as in מְתֵי מְעָט *few people*, Deut. xxvi. 5, xxviii. 62; עֹלַת תָּמִיד *continual sacrifice*, Num. xxviii. 5, near which [729], in ver. 3, we find עוֹלָה תָּמִיד; דְּמֵי חִנָּם *blood shed causelessly*, 1 Kings ii. 31, besides which we find the *sing.* דָּם חִנָּם *innocent blood* 1 Sam. xxv. 31; (2d) also when there follows an idea which is to be expressed by prepositions, or some other similar means; as, אֱלֹהֵי מִקָּרֹב *a god from near*, or אֱלֹהֵי מֵרָחֹק *a god from afar, i.e.* a god coming from some place near, or from afar, Jer. xxiii. 23, cf. Prov. vii. 19; מַמְלְכוֹת צָפוֹנָה *the kingdoms to the north* (see § 216, [Ges. § 90, 2; Gr. § 219; Dav. § 17, 3]), *i.e.* the northern kingdoms, Jer. i. 15, xxiii. 8. Such words are actually very closely connected in meaning; still more closely connected are the elements in the expression כְּדֵי בָנוּ *according to sufficiency in us, i.e.* as far as we were able, Neh. v. 8 (from דַּי, § 209*c*); לִפְנֵי מִזֶּה *before from this* (§ 183*a*), *i.e.* hitherto, formerly, Neh. xiii. 4. But if the construct state were always employed in this way, its use would be extended far beyond its most natural province (see § 210); hence, since the close construction is not necessary in this case, other laws of language also come in and exert their combined influence. On this, see § 289*b*.

e. 3. A substantive remains loosely co-ordinated with the [other] substantive when, though more closely specifying the meaning of the first, it is essentially so like it, that both might be mutually related as subject and predicate, or that the second, as such, might form the predicate of a relative clause; thus, דָּוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ *David the king*, where [the name] David is more

[1] [Philippi shows, against Nägelsbach, Delitzsch, and Hupfeld, that, in such cases, the second noun is an accusative of closer specification, and not a genitive governed by the first noun, whose subordinating force is continued beyond its suffix. (*Status constructus*, pp. 13, 14, and footnote.) See also § 291*a* and footnote.]

before the mind of the speaker, or הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד *King David*, where the idea of kingship is the nearer; see further under § 293*e*. But this construction is also capable of being applied in a more loose, as well as in a more stringent form. Thus:—

(*a*) In the looser application, there is joined [with the principal noun] a substantive which at the same time refers to the whole proposition, and this in such a way that, in modern languages, we use *as* (*like*) to explain the relation; hence also it stands more freely in the sentence. Though, in the Hebrew, it may also be introduced by ? (see § 217*d*), it is usually added [to the chief noun] simply as it is in itself; thus, *they bend their tongue* קַשְׁתָּם like *their bow*, Jer. ix. 2; *my mother has born me* אִישׁ מָדוֹן as *a man of contention for the whole earth*, Jer. xv. 10.

(*b*) In the closer application made of it, and position assigned to it, a substantive is perhaps co-ordinated because there is no corresponding adjective, while subordination would not afford a correct meaning; as, נַעֲרָה בְתוּלָה *puella virgo*, 1 Kings i. 1; cf. 2 Sam. xv. 16, xx. 3; זְבָחִים שְׁלָמִים *thank-offerings*, Ex. xxiv. 5; רֹבֶה קַשָּׁת *a marksman, archer, i.e.* a marksman skilled in using the bow, Gen. xxi. 20, cf. 1 Kings v. 29, Neh. iv. 11. Moreover, in this case, different numbers and genders may be conjoined; as, הַיְּהוּדִים הַפְּלֵיטָה *the Jews, the remnant*, i.e. the Jews who had been spared, Neh. i. 2, cf. ver. 3; עָרִים מִבְדָּלוֹת *cities, separate places, i.e.* separate cities, Josh. xvi. 9.

Two such substantives, however, constantly manifest so strong a tendency to unite inseparably with one another, that every [730] language gradually begins to form a closer connection between some words of this kind; thus, there occurs in the construct state נְהַר פְּרָת [*the river of Euphrates*], which would exactly answer to the Ger. *der Euphratstrom* (like *Rhine-stream*), also אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם *terra Ægypti*, land of Egypt, Ger. *Ægyptenland;* שֵׁבֶט הַמְנַשֶּׁה *the tribe of Manasseh*, where the article is joined with the proper name Manasseh only because of this construction (see § 290*b*); also בַּת צִיּוֹן *daughter* (*i.e.* a poetic title of honour for *city*) *of Zion;* רַב הַחֹבֵל, *the chief pilot*, Jonah i. 6.[1] For the same reason we can only say, הָאָרֶץ כְּנַעַן

[1] That the expression cannot mean *the master of the mariners*, is further evident from the fact that the mere מַלָּחִים *mariners* (sailors) are very clearly distinguished from the חֹבְלִים in Ezek. xxvii. 8, 9, 27–29.

the land of Canaan, Num. xxxiv. 2; הַבַּת צִיּוֹן *the daughter of Zion,* Lam. ii. 13 (in this latter passage, however, the article likewise serves as an interjection; see § 327*a*). To the same category belongs the expression אַנְשֵׁי הַתָּרִים, which is the same as our *merchant-men,* 1 Kings x. 14 (2 Chron. ix. 14).

f. A substantive which does not admit of being thus co-ordinated must, of course, be subordinated to the preceding noun, which takes the construct state, though the second merely serves, by a circumlocution, to describe a property of the first, and hence also is always, in itself, without the article (cf. § 290*a*). Such constructions are all the more frequently formed, because derivative adjectives are rare, or altogether wanting in the Semitic languages (see § 209*b* [Ges. § 106; Gr. § 254*c*]); thus, גִּבּוֹר חַיִל *hero of power, i.e.* a powerful hero, Judg. xi. 1; אִישׁ מְדָנִים, *man of contentions, i.e.* a contentious one; from many nouns there are no adjectives derived at all, hence we must use the construct state in אֲרוֹן עֵץ *chest of wood, i.e.* wooden; אֱלִילֵי כֶסֶף *idols of silver,* silver idols; בְּנֵי בֶטֶן *children of the womb, i.e.* uterine children; עֲדַת אֵל *assembly of God, i.e.* divine assembly, Ps. lxxxii. 1; מַמְלְכוֹת הָאֱלִיל *the kingdoms of the idols, i.e.* the idolatrous kingdoms, Isa. x. 10; such words as *God* and *idols,* in the last two examples, being abbreviated as much as possible, so as to serve merely as the description of a property. Or, the adjectives, [if they do exist], indicate persons acting, and are not used with reference to things; as, צַדִּיק *just,* קָדוֹשׁ *holy;* hence, זִבְחֵי צֶדֶק *sacrificia juris,* i.e. *justa;* בִּגְדֵי קֹדֶשׁ *vestes sanctitatis,* i.e. *sacræ.* And many ideas, such as *numerable* (*i.e.* easy to look over, small in number), readily enter into numerous combinations, in exact accordance with this mode of linking words together; as, אַנְשֵׁי מִסְפָּר *men of number, i.e.* capable of being counted.

Through this lack of common adjectives, it has also come about that abstract or neuter nouns are frequently subordinated to general names of persons, or nouns which indicate the possessor, origin, derivation; these nouns are combined thus: (1) frequently with אִישׁ *man;* as, אִישׁ תֹּאַר *vir formæ, i.e.* formosus [731], 1 Sam. xvi. 18; אִישׁ דְּבָרִים *vir verborum, i.e.* facundus, Ex. iv. 10. (2) Often with בַּעַל *master, owner;* as, בַּעַל דְּבָרִים, *having words* (a complaint), *i.e.* a complainant, Ex. xxiv. 14; בַּעַל חֲלֹמוֹת *having dreams, i.e.* one who dreams

much, Gen. xxxvii. 19; בַּעַל פְּקִידוּת *one who keeps the oversight, i.e.* an officer in charge, Jer. xxxvii. 13; בַּעֲלֵי אֲסֻפּוֹת *possessed of fittings, i.e.* well fitted, Eccles. xii. 11. (3) With בֵּן *son*, for the purpose of indicating derivation, or even any other kind of special reference; as, בְּנֵי תַעֲרֻבוֹת *sons of guarantees, i.e.* hostages, 2 Kings xiv. 14; בְּנֵי חַיִל *sons of wealth, i.e.* wealthy, Deut. iii. 18; בֶּן־הַכּוֹת *a son of beating*, deserving to be beaten, Deut. xxv. 2, 1 Sam. xx. 31; בִּן־לַיְלָה *son of a night*, produced in a night and depending on it, Jonah iv. 10. In such constructions, also, poetic writers venture on much that is novel, as in Isa. v. 1, Eccles. xii. 11. In Aramaic, it is the last-mentioned construction that is most frequently used: it is employed for the purpose of forming a word indicating a unit, or individual, a class in which the language, in accordance with its ancient character (see § 176*a*), still continues very poor. Thus also, in the later Hebrew of the more lofty style, there is formed the expression בֶּן־אָדָם *an* individual *man*, hence, in the plur. בְּנֵי אָדָם *men;* and further, in accordance with the same Aramean and Neo-Hebraic usage, בַּת קוֹל *a voice*, plur. בְּנוֹת קוֹל *voices*, and the poetic בְּנוֹת הַשִּׁיר *singing voices*, Eccles. xii. 4.[1]

g. The subordinated noun may also describe the relation of the individual [part] to the whole [genus], the figurative to the actual: נְסִיכֵי אָדָם, the *anointed of* [or, among] *men, i.e.* the anointed, and no other among men; אֶבְיֹנֵי אָדָם *poor of men*, i.e. the poor, and no other men; זֹבְחֵי אָדָם the *offering of men*, i.e. those who offer, men actually offering; all these expressions, however, formed after the model of the above-mentioned בְּנֵי אָדָם *sons of men*, are rather merely poetic, Mic. v. 4, Isa. xxix. 19, Hos. xiii. 2; פֶּרֶא אָדָם *a wild ass of a man, i.e.* a very wild man, Gen. xvi. 12, Prov. xv. 20, xxi. 20; פֶּלֶא יוֹעֵץ *a wonder of a counsellor, i.e.* a wonderful counsellor, Isa. ix. 5; מְתָעֵב גּוֹי *an abomination of a people*, which is a very strong expression for an abominable people, Isa. xlix. 7; בְּרִית עָם *a covenant* (*i.e.* means of union) *of people, i.e.* a mediatorial nation, Isa. xlix. 8, xlii. 6, Ps. lxviii. 31.[2] In every such case it is essential that the subordinate noun should assume the indefinite form of construction (*i.e.* remain without the article), at least in the first instance; however, תּוֹךְ הֶחָצֵר

[1] See the *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissenschaften*, iii. p. 123.

[2] Cf. *narasinha* (male lion), *naravjâhra* (male tiger), in Sanskrit.

may signify the *inner court*, 1 Kings viii. 64, inasmuch as תָּוֶךְ alone has a similar meaning already, Isa. lxvi. 17.

h. But it is not very strange that many a substantive, whose meaning indicates merely the extent, number, or time, or even the contents of the first, and which, accordingly, is most easily subordinated, somewhat loosely, after the fashion of an adjective, should gradually disengage itself from the closer combination, of which it forms the second member, and, by renouncing the construct state, enter into a freer kind of subordination; in actual fact, this looser species of construction has [732] already been very largely developed in the Hebrew. Thus, עַיִר פֶּרֶא *a foal of a wild ass, i.e.* a wild ass's colt, Job xi. 12; besides the expression אַנְשֵׁי מִסְפָּר already treated of (see above, § *f*), there is also found יָמִים מִסְפָּר *few days*, Num. ix. 20; שְׁנָתַיִם יָמִים *two years, days* (*i.e.* of time), an expression which is nearly equivalent to the Ger. *zwei Jahre lang*, for (the space of) two years; שָׁבוּעַ יָמִים *a week's time*, שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים רָעָב *seven years* (of) *famine*, 2 Sam. xxiv. 13, cf. Gen. xli. 29; מְלֹא חָפְנַיִם עָמָל *two fists full* (of) *toil* (see § 209*c*), Eccles. iv. 6 [Judg. vi. 38], cf. 2 Kings v. 17; אֲשֵׁרָה כָּל־עֵץ *a grove* [of] *any kind of wood* whatever, Deut. xvi. 21, 2 Kings iv. 2, Eccles. ii. 7; אֵילִים צֶמֶר, *rams* (*i.e.* fleeces of) *wool*, 2 Kings iii. 4; מַעֲשֶׂה מִקְשֶׁה a *work of art* [of] *something curled, i.e.* something artificially curled, Isa. iii. 24. Even such constructions as the following occur: חַיִל גִּבֹּרֵי מִלְחָמָה *a power* (*i.e.* a host) *of warriors*, 2 Chron. xiii. 3, xiv. 8, cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 3; בָּקָר רְעִי *oxen* (of) *pasture, i.e.* which were at pasture, 1 Kings v. 3, and מַיִם לַחַץ *water* (of) *affliction*, which is to be understood figuratively, 1 Kings xxii. 27, Isa. xxx. 20; as also יַיִן תַּרְעֵלָה *wine* (of) *reeling, i.e.* producing reeling, Ps. lx. 5.[1] Hence, the second noun may easily be separated from the

[1] On the other hand, in Cant. viii. 2, the sense of the passage requires that the words מִיַּיִן הָרֶקַח should be taken in a connected series, and as simply meaning *of the wine of spice* (*i.e.* of spiced wine, the best wine). The construct state of this word is, certainly, elsewhere, and even in Cant. vii. 10, always written יֵין; but there are also some other very rare instances in which the Massoretes have left ַי— instead of putting ֵי— when a word is attracted (see § 211*c*, *note*); and in the Mishna (for instance, Sheqalim iv. 4) קַיִץ is thrice left thus in the construct state. Cf. however, the *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissensch.* viii. p. 172.

first by one or more words; as, מַטְמֻנִים בַּשָּׂדֶה חִטִּים *stores in the field* (of) *wheat*, Jer. xli. 8; בָּשָׂר בַּשָּׂדֶה טְרֵפָה *flesh* (of) *what has been torn in the field*, Ex. xxii. 30, cf. Deut. vi. 10 f., xxviii. 36, 64; הַמַּבּוּל . . . מַיִם *the flood* . . . (of) *water*, Gen. vii. 6, cf. vi. 17; דָּבָר . . . בְלִיַּעַל *a word* . . . (of) *wickedness*, Deut. xv. 9, cf. viii. 15, Judg. vi. 25: nay more, the discourse may also be resumed in this way, after a considerable interruption, and briefly concluded, Deut. xvii. 8. Especially must the more close specification of the thing intended be repeated, in this way, somewhat loosely, after מָה *what*, or אֲשֶׁר *which, what*, as in German; thus, מַה־יִּהְיֶה רָעָה *what shall happen* (of) *evil* [Ger. *was geschehen wird übles*], or, *what evil shall happen*, Eccles. xi. 2, Esth. vi. 3; אֲשֶׁר . . . בֶּדֶק *which*, . . . *of ruinous*, *i.e.* whatsoever (that is) ruinous, 2 Kings viii. 12, xii. 6. See further, §§ 290*e*, 293*e*.

i. It is enough to put the noun indicating the contents of a number, or measure, in the *singular* simply, and without the article (according to § 279*b*), at the end, provided the first-mentioned noun gives the meaning of a plural; hence, we may not merely say שְׁלֹשׁ סְאִים קֶמַח *three measures* (of) *meal*, Gen. xviii. 6, but also אַרְבָּעָה טוּרִים אֶבֶן *four rows* (of) *stone*, i.e. stones, Ex. xxviii. 17, 1 Kings vii. 12, instead of which construction, however, there is also used interchangeably טוּרֵי in the construct state, 1 Kings vi. 36, Ex. xxxix. 10 [733]. Similarly, in certain frequently-occurring combinations, even the name of the measure is omitted, when it is quite evident, from the mention of the material, what is intended; as, שֶׁקֶל *pound*, shekel; אֵיפָה *bushel*, ephah; כִּכָּר *piece*, talent: thus, שֵׁשׁ שְׂעֹרִים *six* (ephahs of) *barley*, Ruth iii. 15; שְׁלֹשִׁים כֶּסֶף *thirty* (pounds, shekels of) *silver*, Zech. xi. 12, cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 17.

In particular, the numerals which indicate the *tens* (see § 267*c* [Ges. § 120, 2; Gr. § 250, 2; Dav. § 48, 5]), as being indeclinable words, always place the noun in free subordination; moreover, in their case, as well as in that of all numbers higher than *ten*, the *singular* of the thing subordinated, to which reference has just been made, is readily accepted as sufficient; thus, עֶשְׂרִים אִישׁ *twenty men* (corresponding to the Ger. *zwanzig mann*, or the Eng. *ten pound*, cf. 1 Kings xx. 16), שִׁבְעִים אֶלֶף סַבָּל *seventy thousand burden-bearers*, 2 Chron. ii. 17;

this singular is also continued though the numeral still remains in the construct state; as, מְאַת שָׁנָה *a hundred years*. For, since the idea of mere multitude continues to be associated with the word in the plural (see §§ 176, 179*c*, 317*a*), the Semitic, following its finer instinct,[1] delights in so distinguishing between the numbers 2–10 and those which are higher, that, while the object is joined with the former in the proper plural form, it is combined with the latter in its rigid [*i.e.* undeclined] state; hence, with the former, the idea of the individual is rendered much more prominent. However, just as we also find, though more rarely, such a combination as עֲשָׂרָה אֶלֶף *ten thousand*, Ezek. xlv. 1, a like case, even with a number under ten, in Ex. xvi. 22, and (at least in the *Kethib*) שְׁמֹנֶה שָׁנָה *eight years*, 2 Kings viii. 17, so also, the plural occurs in combination with the higher numbers, Ex. xxvi. 19, xxxvi. 24 f. But adjectives which, in this connection, have once come to occupy the place and fulfil the functions of substantives, may more conveniently be retained in the plural, Gen. xviii. 24, 28. As in § 290*f*, the article is still attached, not to the numeral, but to the object, Zech. xi. 12, 15, Judg. vii. 6–8, 16, xviii. 16 f., Deut. ix. 25, 1 Chron. xxvii. 15, 2 Chron. xxv. 9; see, however, Josh. iv. 4. A singular noun, in this construction, is followed by the co-ordinated adjective, either in strict agreement (according to § 293*a*), 1 Sam. xxii. 18, Judg. xviii. 17, or more loosely in the plural, Judg. xviii. 16, cf. 1 Kings i. 5, xx. 30, with verse 16, Cant. iv. 4.

If the chain of words is broken, in the way indicated in §§ *h*, *i*, the noun which is left more loosely at the end either falls simply into the accusative, as the free subordination of a noun, or (in accordance with § 293*c*) by a still freer construction, it may simply continue the same case already given in the first. In the Arabic, which presents the three cases more clearly, these two possible constructions are more precisely distinguished;[2]

[1] This tendency has been very fully and strongly developed in the Arabic especially.

[2] On this subject, see the treatise in the *Nachrichten der Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1857, pp. 98–112. The Ethiopic, like the Arabic, may have simple co-ordination; as, *sĕdûse ʿĕlâthĕ*, *a series of six days*, Jubil. ix. 1, x. 1 (but

while the Hebrew and the Aramaic, on the other hand, have no clear perception of finer distinctions such as these. The plainest proof of this is the fact that, in these cases, for the sake of distinctness, the language readily avails itself of the aid afforded by the preposition בְּ (see § 217*f*); as, מַתָּנוֹת בָּאָדָם *gifts in men*, consisting in men, Ps. lxviii. 19, and בָּאַמָּה, § 317*c*.

k. Since (as stated § 269*a*) there are no adjectives [*i.e.* ordinal forms] [734] for numbers above ten, the number, in the form which it usually assumes with the object, is subordinated to the construct state of the latter; as, שְׁנַת הַחֲמִשִּׁים שָׁנָה *the year of the fifty years, i.e.* which can originate only through fifty years, hence, *the fiftieth year*, Lev. xxv. 10 f. But briefer constructions are frequently resorted to: either this construct state is omitted, so that the precise meaning is decided by the context; as, בִּשְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר יוֹם on the fourteenth day, cf. Gen. xiv. 4;[1] or the last noun is omitted, though the gender of the numeral remains the same,—a mode of construction which afterwards became more and more prevalent, and was adopted by all numbers, as, בִּשְׁנַת שָׁלֹשׁ *in the third year*, prop. *in the year (of) three;* hence, this last mode of expression can once more be rendered definite by employing the article, as, שְׁנַת הַשֶּׁבַע *the seventh year*, Deut. xv. 9. But sometimes also, even in the case of numbers under ten, the more exact meaning is to be inferred from the mere subordination; as, לִשְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים *in three days, i.e.* on the third day, Ex. xix. 15; compare with this the more precise expression in vers. 11, 16, and even without this לְ, 2 Sam. xx. 4. The most distinct of such formulæ is the construction הַיּוֹם שְׁלֹשֶׁת הַיָּמִים *to-day the three days, i.e.* to-day is the third day, *i.e.* the day before yesterday, 1 Sam. ix. 20, instead of which, finally, we have the still briefer construction הַיּוֹם שְׁלֹשָׁה, 1 Sam. xxx. 13.

also p. 12, line 7 from bottom); and in Syriac also, this construction may be employed in poetry, ܦܪܙܠܐ ܢܚܫܐ *a covering* (of) *brass and iron*, Knōs, *Chrest.* p. 88, 4. But it is only the most rugged of modern languages that make use of such an expression as *girdle-leather* for *leathern girdle;* see Gabelentz, *Melan. Spr.* p. 24.

[1] The mode of expressing such numbers in the old Persian inscriptions of Bagastan is very similar.

When the looser subordination thus forces in, instead of the construct state, the noun, subordinated and attached in this looser manner, takes its place in the series, as usual (see also § *h*), in such a rigid and inflexible form, that it is slow to enter anew into the construct state in relation to a noun following: this is shown, not merely in cases like מָאתַיִם צִנָּה זָהָב *two hundred shields* (of) *gold*, 2 Chron. ix. 15, but in far more striking instances, Esth. ix. 30. Yet sometimes cases exhibiting the opposite of this rigid arrangement continue to occur; as, רִבּוֹ תוֹרָתִי *ten thousand laws of mine*, Hos. viii. 12 (where the singular תּוֹרָה is accounted for only on the ground of what is stated in § *i*), and חֵמָה אַפּוֹ *a glow of anger of his*, Isa. xlii. 25 (see § *h*).

l. To still another peculiar class, under the present category, belongs מִשְׁנֶה in the sense of a *second place* (see § 160) or *second grade* (dignity), *i.e.* inferior worth. Although, in accordance with this meaning, the word was originally subordinated to a noun in the construct state, as, כֹּהֲנֵי הַמִּשְׁנֶה *the priests of the second class, i.e.* under priests, 2 Kings xxiii. 4, it afterwards not merely disengaged itself from this closer construction (as shown in § *h*), as in הָעִיר מִשְׁנֶה *the lower* [part of the] *city*, Neh. xi. 9, but also, in the sense of *a subordinate, i.e.* a man of second rank, governs another noun in the construct state; thus, מִשְׁנֵה הַמֶּלֶךְ *the subordinate* (*i.e.* substitute, or representative) *of the king* [735], 2 Chron. xxviii. 7; מִשְׁנֵהוּ *his second, i.e.* his younger brother, 1 Sam. xvii. 13. It even becomes at last exactly an adjective in form, and hence takes the plural ending after a plural noun; as, אֲחֵיהֶם הַמִּשְׁנִים *their under* [*i.e.* younger] brothers, 1 Chron. xv. 18.[1]

288*a*. III. Any participle or adjective may be restricted in its reference, just like a noun, by any substantive following. Whenever the verb [from which the participle is derived], for any reason, loosely subordinates the accusative of a noun (see § 299 ff.), the closer subordination by means of the construct state is here [*i.e.* in the case of the participle] not merely in every instance possible, but even always primarily suggests itself; for what, in the case of the verb, is the accusative, is,

[1] With an exact correspondence in meaning, ثُنًى likewise takes the form of a substantive; *Hamâsa*, p. 257, 3 ff.

in the case of the noun, the construct state;[1] nay more, in the close subordination by means of the construct state, there is readily shown greater boldness than in the subordination formed by means of the accusative, which is more of an external and formal character. Yet, even in the case now under consideration, the looser construction also, by means of the accusative, is not an unnatural one for the substantive which forms the second member [see Ges. § 135]: it may be employed with the participle, inasmuch as the latter represents its verb; and with the adjective, inasmuch as the idea which it represents is further defined, though in a merely external way, by other ideas akin to it (see § 279*a*). Hence, in the present case, a most essential element, in the choice between the closer and the more loose subordination, is the special relation in which the speaker is inclined to place two such associated ideas; but this depends, again, partly on the meaning of the discourse, partly on mere convenience in the arrangement of words in the sentence. Hence the following different cases :—

1. Participles of active verbs: אֹהֲבֵי אֱלֹהִים *amantes Dei;* מְאִיר עֵינַיִם *enlightening the eyes,* Ps. xix. 8 f.; אֹכְלֵי שֻׁלְחָנְךָ *those who eat at thy table, i.e.* of thy food, 1 Kings ii. 7; בָּאֵי שַׁעַר *those who enter in at the gate;* יֹצְאֵי עִיר *egredientes* (or *egressi*) *urbem;* יֹרֵד שְׁאוֹל *going down* (or, when the context requires it, *gone*) *to Hades;* שָׂטֵי כָזָב *those who turned aside to what is false,* Ps. xl. 5, since these verbs of motion are used with a direct accusative (see § 282*d*); bolder are the poetic constructions, זֹחֲלֵי עָפָר *crawling in the dust, i.e.* serpents, Deut. xxxii. 24, Mic. vii. 17; שֹׁכְבֵי קֶבֶר *lying in the grave,* Ps. lxxxviii. 6, cvii. 10. The *absolute state* occurs more frequently with the accusative only when the participle has more of a verbal force (see §§ 168*c*, 200*b*), but not necessarily even then, as Hos. iii. 1, Cant. iii. 8, Jer. xvii. 26, xx. 10, cf. 1 Kings xx. 40, according to the points.

Similarly, even before the accusatival particle itself (see § 277*d*), the construct state may be retained; as, מְשָׁרְתֵי אֹתִי *those who serve me,* Jer. xxxiii. 22; in ordinary speech, however, this is not possible.

b. 2. Participles from passive verbs, construed in different

[1] [See footnote, p. 28.]

ways; as, חֲגוּר שַׂק *clothed in sackcloth*, פְּצוּעַ דַּכָּה *broken in pieces*, Deut. xxiii. 2, where the substantive would be the second accusative in the verbal construction (see § 281*e*); but also [736] יְלוּד אִשָּׁה *born of woman*, since this expression is equivalent to *one whom a woman has born*, in which, therefore, the second member is more firmly connected [with the participle], and is not easily separated from it, so as to be put in the accusative; similarly, בְּעֻלַת בַּעַל a woman *ruled by a lord*, *i.e.* a married woman; חֲבוּר עֲצַבִּים *idol-allied*, Hos. iv. 17; מֻכֵּי חֶרֶב plur. *slain by the sword* (fallen in battle), Jer. xviii. 21; שְׂרוּף אֵשׁ *burnt with fire*, Isa. i. 7; also with a mere suffix, as, קְרֻאֶיהָ *those invited by her*, Prov. ix. 18, xiii. 1.

But, inasmuch as the participle contains within itself the force of a relative (*he who is* . . .), a whole passive proposition may take this construction, in such a way that the substantive which, in this proposition, is really the subject of the passive verb, is now subordinated to its own verb, which is turned into a participle in the construct state. In this way there arises an exceedingly brief yet perspicuous mode of expression, which, however, occurs somewhat more rarely in Hebrew:[1] thus, נְשׂוּא עָוֹן he who is *forgiven iniquity*, *i.e.* he whose iniquity is forgiven, Isa. xxxiii. 24, Ps. xxxii. 1; נְשׂוּא פָנִים *respected*, prop. one whose face is lifted up, who is not refused; קְרֻעֵי בְגָדִים *those of rent garments* (or, with torn clothes), 2 Sam. xiii. 31. In this case, therefore, the passive participle has really a double force, viz. that of the person referred to, and that of a passive verb, which would be the predicate if the whole proposition were not reduced to the form merely of a relative clause; the whole proposition is further referred, only in the most general way, to something or other,—attached to an individual, or *one who* . . .; but this itself is in turn expressed by the mere fact that the finite verb is changed into the participle, and the latter put first. A further consequence of this is, that such a participle attaches to itself, in the construct state, as shortly and sharply as possible, what is to be its subject. If, however, such a participle (according to § 279 or 341*b*) is itself again more loosely subordinated in the sentence, as

[1] Compare Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* ii. p. 242 ff., and all the Sanskrit compounds of the kind named *Bahuvrîhi*; also very strong instances in the *Ḥamâsa*, p. 293, v. 3.

a word which merely indicates some minor circumstance, and therefore becomes more rigid and indeclinable, it may return to the absolute state, and this in such a way that its original subject, possibly with its appropriate suffix, is quite loosely placed beside it. Thus, *he came* קָרוּעַ כֻּתָּנְתּוֹ *rent* [as to] *his garment, i.e.* in such a condition that his garment was torn, 2 Sam. xv. 32 [but see also § 341*b*, 3 (*b*)]; cf. the eminent example in Neh. iv. 12, הַבּוֹנִים אִישׁ חַרְבּוֹ אֲסוּרִים עַל־מָתְנָיו *those who builded* were *each one girt* with *his sword upon his loins.*[1]

[737] *c.* 3. Simpler words which indicate a property or condition,—adjectives or participles; as, גְּדָל כֹּחַ *great in strength;* גְּבַהּ קוֹמָה *tall in stature,* Ezek. xxxi. 3; רַע עַיִן evil of eye, *i.e. envious;* סוּג לֵב *rebellious in heart,* Prov. xiv. 14; נוֹרָא תְהִלֹּת *he who is fearful in praises,* Ex. xv. 11; רַךְ לֵבָב *tender-hearted;* טְמֵא שְׂפָתַיִם *unclean of lips,* properly, one who (is) of unclean lips; סָר טַעַם *tasteless,* Prov. xi. 22; also רַבַּת בָּנִים *she who has many sons,* 1 Sam. ii. 5; חוֹלַת אַהֲבָה a woman who is *sick of love;* שׁוּבֵי מִלְחָמָה those who have *turned away from war, i.e.* men who hate war, Mic. ii. 8; חַלְלֵי חֶרֶב *pierced with the sword;* and as עֱרוּךְ מִלְחָמָה *arrayed for battle,* Joel ii. 5, so חֲלוּצֵי צָבָא *equipped for* (active) *service,* and יֹצְאֵי צָבָא *marching out for* (active) *service,* 1 Chron. vii. 11; also בֹּגְדֵי אָוֶן *sinfully faithless* (faithless sinners), Ps. lix. 6 (see § 279*a*), and many similar expressions. Such words are also found with a pretty long description, as in Deut. iii. 5; and even before a brief modifying clause; as, שִׁכְרַת וְלֹא מִיָּיִן *drunken, yet not with wine,* as if it were *not wine-drunk,* Isa. li. 21.[2] In such cases, poetic writers are generally more venturesome; thus, not merely do they, from קָם, in the sense of *one who is risen up, i.e.* an open enemy, form קָמַי (see § 286*a*), but also, in like manner מִתְקוֹמְמֶיךָ *thine opponents,* adversaries, Ps. lix. 2; רְחֵקֶיךָ *those who withdraw from thee, i.e.* thy betrayers, Ps. lxxiii. 27. Similarly, David says, חָסִיד לוֹ *the one who is* pious, or *devoted to him,* Ps. iv. 4; and not till later (though already in

[1] In the Arabic, the second word which thus more freely disengages itself, as that which may now also have the force of the subject in the subordinate proposition, readily returns to the nominative case; but we cannot speak of such a thing in Hebrew, inasmuch as this language has no such noun-form.

[2] Just as in the Sanskrit *apânamattâ.*

1 Sam. ii. 9) is the expression shortened into חֲסִידוֹ *his pious one.*

In poetry, an infinitive also may be closely subordinated in this way, when it is construed with the finite verb in a manner correspondingly close (see § 285); as, לִמֻּדֵי הָרֵעַ *those accustomed to do evil,* Jer. xiii. 23, and still more strongly, מַשְׁכִּימֵי קוּם *those who rise early,* Ps. cxxvii. 2. When another word becomes like an adjective, it also may be employed in this way; as, מַהֵר שָׁלָל *he who is of speedy spoil, i.e.* whose gain comes soon enough, Isa. viii. 1, 3 (see § 240*e*).

The subordinated noun seldom takes its reflexive pronoun;[1] as, נְלוֹז דְּרָכָיו *the perverted of his ways, i.e.* he whose ways are perverse, Prov. xiv. 2; פִּסֵּחַ שְׁתֵּי רַגְלָיו *lame in both of his feet,* 2 Sam. ix. 3, Prov. xix. 1, Isa. i. 30; אַמִּיץ לִבּוֹ *he who is strong in his heart* (in his own opinion), *i.e.* he who thinks himself strong, Amos ii. 16;[2] similarly בֹּעֵר אַפּוֹ *burning in his anger,* Isa. xxx. 17, in which case the second word stands more apart.

The substantive, certainly, may also be construed more loosely, in the accusative; but this occurs (1) only when the first word [738] has the article, and thereby stands more apart by itself (see § 290); or (2) when, considering the normal arrangement, another word rather intrudes itself between the two, as in Job xv. 10, cf. xi. 9; or (3) when the word to be subordinated has nevertheless the greater emphasis in the sentence, as Isa. xxii. 2 (see § 309*a*). But in such cases, too, the relation between the words is easily rendered clear by the employment of a preposition; as, צָעִיר אֲנִי לְיָמִים *small* (young) am *I in days,* Job xxxii. 4, 6, cf. Ps. xii. 7; with members of the body בְּ is preferably used, as, קַל בְּרַגְלָיו *swift with his feet,* Amos ii. 15, Prov. ii. 15, xvii. 20. To this category belongs the expression which, in accordance with the spirit of the Old Testament religion, is very rarely used; גָּדוֹל לֵאלֹהִים

[1] Compare a similar construction in Arabic, with intrachsitive verbs; سَفِهَ نَفْسَهُ *he was foolish of his soul,* Sur. ii. 124.

[2] On the other hand, הַגַּס לִבּוֹ, with the article, is (according to § 331*b*) *he whose heart is puffed up,* M. Aboth, iv. 9; subsequently, גַּס רוּחַ, used merely as a predicate, came to mean *proud-spirited.*

God-great, or *divinely great*, and which is met with only in the popular narrative style, Jonah iii. 3.[1]

d. When an adjective is to have its meaning completed by an adverb, the latter can only be co-ordinated with the former; as, גָּדוֹל מְאֹד *very great*, נָקִי חִנָּם *vainly* (uselessly) *innocent*, Prov. i. 11. The same holds true of an adjective which happens to be used for the purpose of more closely defining the idea of another, as in the cases given in § 270*d* [*reddish-white*, Lev. xiii. 19, 24, 43]. Cf. § 293*d*.

2. *Consequences arising from the concatenation of words.*

289*a*. Since the chain of words subsists only through the force of the closest mutual connection, and this is of such a nature that the first member attracts the second, the following results arise:—

(1) No *adjective, pronoun*, or other word, can intervene between the noun which limits, and that which is limited by it; because every word [thus intruding] would have the force of a substantive limiting the construct state, and thus confuse the meaning. Hence, every word in apposition to that which is in the construct state, whether an adjective or a pronoun (see § 293*a*), must be placed only at the end, after the limiting substantive; so that, when two nouns in construction do not differ in gender and number, it is only the general sense of the passage that could show to which the word in apposition refers. Thus, בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל may signify either, *the son of the great king*, or, *the great* [*i.e.* eldest] *son of the king;* the language, however, easily avoids such a possible ambiguity (see § 292*a*, *b*) [also Appendix, § 365, *c*, 2]. But the ending ָה, indicating motion to a place, may very well be joined to the first word [as, בֵּיתָה יוֹסֵף *to the house of Joseph*, Gen. xliii. 17] (see § 216*a*). Only after כֹּל (see § 286*e*) can a small word be inserted, and this because it begins to have more the force of an adjective, like our *all;* thus, עוֹד *still*, is interposed in 2 Sam. i. 9, Job xxvii. 3; only in Hos. xiv. 3 do we find the insertion of a verb, which is a much heavier word.[2]

[1] See the *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissensch.* x. p. 50 f., xi. p. 197.

[2] In Isa. xxxviii. 16, if the meaning were, *therein consists the whole life of my soul*, a word would even be inserted from the other half of the sen-

But, of course, the adjective which belongs to a foregoing substantive seeks to come into immediate connection with the latter. If, then, [739] the second noun, in consequence of the meaning (see § 287*h*), at all readily admits of being separated [from the first] by the looser subordination, an adjective or similar descriptive word may also intrude itself between; as, אֶבֶן שְׁלֵמָה מַסָּע *whole* (*i.e.* undressed) *quarry-stones*, 1 Kings vi. 7, iv. 13. But, if the sense does not admit of this (see § 286), then the adjective, if inconvenience would be caused by removing it too far back from the word which it qualifies, is itself introduced into the chain of words, after having been perhaps also raised to the possession of substantival force. This readily takes place with אֶחָד (see § 286*d*), as in Isa. xxxvi. 9, but more rarely and less easily in the case of other words; as, צִיץ נֹבֵל צְבִי תִפְאַרְתּוֹ, Isa. xxviii. 1, *fading flower* (prop. flower of what fades; cf. צִיצַת in ver. 4) *of the ornament of its splendour*. But sentences like Jer. iv. 11 do not fall under this category.[1]

b. The intervention of a preposition would, of course, strictly speaking, also break the chain of words in process of being formed by means of the construct state, and hence would not be a thing to be tolerated in such a case; this is shown by the Arabic, in the grandly pure structure of its sentences. The Hebrew, however, especially in the loftier language of poetry, from want of proper cases, generally uses the construct state more largely than the Arabic; in the Aramaic, a preposition between two nouns which are to be more intimately connected in meaning, does not prevent the employment of the construct state; and in the same way also the Hebrew poets especially allow themselves this freedom, particularly in the case of a small preposition, when the meaning invites to the formation of the closer construction. (1) The following word, which is construed with the preposition, may describe a property of the first substantive; as, נְבִיאֵי מִלִּבָּם *prophets out of their*

tence. But, on such a view, it would be further necessary to consider the לְ as prefixed to the nominative,—which does not suit this passage (see § 310*a*). Hence, we shall perhaps be forced to come to the conclusion that for רוּחִי we must read רוּחוֹ; thus, *therein has every man the life of his soul*. [But see Delitzsch on the passage.]

[1] Great caution must also be exercised in other cases; cf. [Ewald] on xxi. 6.

heart, i.e. of their own arbitrary fancy, Ezek. xiii. 2, Isa. ix. 2; or (2) the preposition may merely specify more precisely the relation existing between two words in a passage; as, הָרֵי בַגִּלְבֹּעַ *mountains in Gilboa,* 2 Sam. i. 21 (without ב in prose, ver. 6, 1 Sam. xxxi. 1), Prov. xxiv. 9, Job xviii. 2, Hos. vii. 5, and (in *Kethib*) 2 Sam. x. 9. The preposition is thus used especially when it belongs to the construction of a verb which has become a participle; as, חוֹסֵי בוֹ *those who attach themselves to him, i.e.* trust him, Ps. ii. 12, lxxxiv. 7, Job xxiv. 5, xxxvi. 16, Isa. ix. 1, Jer. viii. 16, Judg. v. 10, viii. 11, Neh. ix. 5 (according to a different reading). There are also cases in which לְ (according to § 292*c*) intrudes itself, whilst the construct state nevertheless still remains; as, מִימִין לַבַּיִת *on the right of the house,* Ezek. x. 3, Josh. viii. 11, xv. 21, Judg. ii. 9, 2 Kings xxiii. 13, Hos. ix. 6, 1 Chron. xxiii. 28. Lastly, the construct is used before לְ of the infinitive (see § 288*c*), as in Isa. lvi. 10.

[An entire word is sometimes placed between the construct one and that which it subordinates, but this separation is at most to be regarded as a bold poetic construction; thus, מַשְׁלִיכֵי בַיְאֹר חַכָּה *those who cast the hook into the river* (Nile), Isa. xix. 8, xxii. 16, Gen. xlix. 11.]

c. A noun which is merely repeated, or explained by a similar noun, may be continued in the construct state, inasmuch as the discourse remains in suspense; as, נַהֲרֵי נַחֲלֵי דְבַשׁ *rivers, brooks of honey,* Job xx. 17; עֵיט צִפּוֹר כָּל כָּנָף *large* (and) *small birds of every feather,* Ezek. xxxix. 4, cf. 2 Sam. xx. 19, Ps. lxviii. 34, lxxviii. 9, Lam. ii. 14, Isa. xxiii. 12, xix. 11, Gen. xiv. 10; worthy of attention also is the expression אַנְשֵׁי בְנֵי אֲדֹנֵיכֶם [740], which is like our style of saying, *the gentlemen, sons of your king,* 2 Kings x. 6 (cf. ver. 8, where the epithet indicative of honour is rightly omitted in the narrative), and a similar case in Judg. xix. 22; also, in somewhat later style, Dan. xi. 14. In such a case, however, the first noun may, of course, remain in the absolute state, so that it is only the meaning of the whole which shows to what it refers, as in Jer. vii. 24; or the suffix is repeated, as, אֲחֵיהֶם אַדִּירֵיהֶם *their noble brethren* (Ger. *ihre Herren Brüder*), Neh. x. 30. Similarly, a poetic writer may only mentally resume the construct state in the case of a subsequent member of the sentence, whether

this be in the beginning of the following part, Prov. i. 3, or after some other words in the middle of it, Job xxvi. 10.

[But two or more words of *different* meaning, though logically co-ordinate, are not, regularly, put in construction before one and the same noun; this must be repeated, either itself or in its suffix, as shown in § 339*b*. Nor does the Hebrew even like to have two or more nouns co-ordinated *after* one construct noun; the governing word is rather repeated before the second subordinated noun: thus, *the God of heaven and the God of earth*, Gen. xxiv. 3; *the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob*, Ex. iii. 6, 15; but the shorter mode of expression is also used, see ver. 16.]

290*a*. (2.) The first noun does not readily assume the *article*, which draws the force of the expression more towards the beginning (see § 181*a*), whereas, in a chain of words, the tone hurries on towards the end: the article is therefore thrown upon the second word, but still in such a way that, considering the close connection between the two, its influence extends to the first also. Hence,—

1. Though both nouns be definite in themselves, yet the article stands with the second only; as, גְּדֹלֵי הָעִיר *the great* men *of the city:* hence also in the case of words derived from composite proper names (see § 164); as, בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי *the Bethlehemite*, from בֵּית לֶחֶם; אֲבִי הָעֶזְרִי *the Abiezerite*, Judg. vi. 11; but הָאִיעֶזְרִי, Num. xxvi. 30, because the first part of אִיעֶזֶר (see §§ 84*c* and 273*c*, footnote) could no longer be separated as a distinct and intelligible word.

2. If the first noun be definite, and the second indefinite, while the latter (according to § 288) contains merely the specification of the former, and both are so far kindred in meaning, then the article is placed upon the second; as, רַךְ לֵבָב *a faint-hearted* person, רַךְ הַלֵּבָב *the faint-hearted* one, Deut. xx. 8; שְׁדוּף קָדִים (an ear) *scorched by the east wind*, שְׁדוּף הַקָּדִים *the* (ear) *scorched by the east wind*, Gen. xli. 6, 23, 27, xxxvii. 3, 23, Jer. xxiii. 25 f. If the second noun readily serves as an *object* (§ 284*c*), then the article may be applied to both together; as, לָבוּשׁ בַּדִּים *indutus vestes linteas*, הַלָּבוּשׁ הַבַּדִּים *the* man *clothed with linen*, Ezek. ix. 2, 3; cf. on the other hand, Ezek. x. 6, Judg. xviii. 17. Such a chain of words, in accordance with its meaning, always admits of being

expanded into a relative sentence, to which, indeed, it is equivalent (see § 331 ff.). On the other hand, when both words are quite dissimilar, and the second is the chief one, though (in accordance with § 278*a*) necessarily indefinite, then the article is wholly dropped; as, דְּבַר יוֹם *the thing of a day, i.e.* the daily [portion], Ex. xvi. 4; יַד כֹּל *the hand of all,* Gen. xvi. 12; חֶרֶב אִישׁ *the sword of every one,* Judg. vii. 22.

3. If the first is to be regarded as indefinite, but the second definite in itself, then the first may also remain in that condition, before the article, and in the construct state, provided no ambiguity arises; as, שְׁלַל הָעִיר plunder of the city, 2 Sam. xii. 30; אִישׁ הָאֲדָמָה *a farmer,* Gen. ix. 20; נְקִיק הַסֶּלַע *a cleft of the rock,* Jer. xiii. 4; אִישׁ בִּנְיָמִן *a Benjamite,* 1 Sam. iv. 12; compare further, Gen. xvi. 7, Lev. xiv. 34 [741], Deut. xxii. 19, Jer. xli. 16. But if ambiguity would arise, because it is necessary that the first word should indicate individuality and indefiniteness in kind, then this first word can *not* be put into the construct state, and the arrangement mentioned in § 292*a* is resorted to instead.

b. A proper name, or a pronoun, as being a kind of second noun, has the same influence as a noun with the article (see § 277*c*); *e.g.* in בְּנִי *my son,* בַּת מִי *whose daughter?* בֶּן־יִשַׁי *the son of Jesse,* the first noun is quite definite as in בֶּן־הָאִישׁ *the son of the man;* but whenever it is possible, the proper name, in such a case, further takes the article; as, שֵׁבֶט הַמְנַשֶּׁה *the tribe of Manasseh* (see § 277*c*).

c. כֹּל is used with a *definite noun in the singular,* which can be conceived of, as to its meaning, only as a singular, in such a way as to signify *the whole, totus* (see § 286*c*); thus, כָּל־הָעָם *the whole people.* When it stands with a singular noun, which, in accordance with the meaning of the proposition, may be conceived of as repeated in kind, then it means *all,* or *every* (*omnis*), and hence is usually found with an indefinite noun; as, כָּל־עַם *every people.* But it is also found before a definite noun, as in Deut. iv. 3, Jer. iv. 29, Prov. xix. 6, Ps. cl. 6; in 1 Sam. ii. 36, with a relative clause, where its occurrence is accounted for on the principles stated in § 335*a;* perhaps also it corresponds in this case to our *all kinds of,* Gen. ii. 9, Prov. i. 13. But, inasmuch as כֹּל, as a pronoun, has something definite in its own meaning, a singular, indicating a whole genus, may be

joined to it without any further defining mark (see § 286*e*); as, כָּל־חַי *all living,* everything that lives, Gen. viii. 21, i. 29, 30; כָּל־בָּחוּר *all the picked soldiers,* 2 Sam. vi. 1, 1 Chron. xix. 10 (but differently in 2 Sam. x. 9).[1] And, since the article is not so much used by poetic writers (see § 277*b*), such an expression, for instance, as כֹּל רֹאשׁ may certainly, if the sense require it, mean *the whole head,* Isa. i. 5, ix. 11, Ezek. xxix. 7, xxxvi. 5. Compare besides, § 323*b*.

d. Only in a few cases does the first member in the series of words retain the article: 1st. On account of the looser connection in meaning, in view of which the first member separates itself more readily (see § 287*h*); this, accordingly, happens (*a*) when the second noun describes merely the quality or the material of the first [and hence must be regarded as really an accusative of description; see Philippi, *Stat. Const.* p. 39]: thus, הַמִּזְבַּח הַנְּחֹשֶׁת *the brazen altar,* 2 Kings xvi. 14, 1 Sam. ii. 13; הַכְּתֹנֶת שֵׁשׁ *the coat of byssus,* in which case, moreover, the article has not been attached to the second word, which is in itself indefinite, Ex. xxviii. 39, xxxix. 27; or (*b*) when merely a participle or adjective is described, as in [הַשְּׁכוּנֵי בָאֳהָלִים *those who dwell in tents*] Judg. viii. 11 (where a preposition also intervenes; see § 289*c*). The active participle, especially, may retain the article with some degree of force, before the suffix, since the latter might also represent the accusative; as, הַפֹּדְךָ *he who redeemed thee,* הַמּוֹלִיכְךָ *he who led* [742] *thee,* Deut. xiii. 6, 11, viii. 14–16, 2 Sam. i. 24, Job xl. 17, Isa. ix. 12, Ps. ciii. 4.[2] The article may also be prefixed to a word in the construct state, which has, besides, the local postfix ָה, as in Gen. xxiv. 67, Ezek. xlvii. 8.[3]—2d. The article is rarely, in addition to the case already mentioned, placed before the suffix as a lighter word, Mic. ii. 12,

[1] The expression הַכֹּל אֲנָשִׁים for *all men,* Ezra x. 17, seems strange; but compare the similar construction בַּכֹּל הוּא *for all that,* Eccles. v. 8. [But see other modern commentaries.] This is, at any rate, not an ancient mode of expression.

[2] Compare Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* ii. p. 25 f., 157, and the later treatise mentioned above, p. 95, footnote.

[3] Here, in the same way, and following the same construction of the words as in 2 Kings xv. 29, we must read הַגָּלִילָה as *even to the boundary of the East;* הַקַּדְמֹנָה, prop. *the east wind.*

Lev. xxvii. 23, Josh. vii. 21, viii. 33, 2 Kings xv. 16; in the case of לַמַּעֲנֵהוּ *for his purpose*, Prov. xvi. 4, it is inserted for a special reason, viz. that the word may not be confounded with לְמַעֲנֵהוּ *for his sake* (§ 222*b*).—3d. It is a later usage to place the article before two nouns which are always joined so as to form a proper name, as 2 Sam. xxiv. 5, Jer. xxxviii. 6, Neh. iii. 19. Besides these cases, the article is sometimes joined with the construct state in language of a later or more careless style, and most readily in cases where a somewhat stronger retrospective power may be contained in it; as Judg. xvi. 14, 1 Kings xiv. 24, 2 Kings vii. 13 (*Kethib*), ix. 4, xxiii. 17, Jer. xxxii. 12, xlviii. 32 (according to § 327*a*; but it is wanting in Isa. xvi. 9), xxv. 26, Ps. cxxiii. 4, 1 Chron. xv. 27, 2 Chron. viii. 16, Ezra viii. 29; or when a third noun rather forms the beginning of a new series, as in Josh. iii. 11. Cf. also the case pointed out in § 332*c*.

e. When the first member of the series, which should stand in the construct state, thus becomes more detached through its assumption of the article, it sometimes even returns to the absolute state. The article may then be likewise repeated with the second word; as, הַבָּקָר הַנְּחֹשֶׁת *the brazen oxen*,[1] כּוֹס הַיַּיִן הַחֵמָה *the cup of burning wine*, 2 Kings xvi. 17, Jer. xxv. 15, Josh. viii. 11, Ezek. xlv. 16, Dan. viii. 13; also הַיֹּצֵא הַשָּׂדֶה *that which springs up in the field*, Deut. xiv. 22, since the elements in this expression have been somewhat more loosely connected (see § 288*a*); or it may not be joined with the second member, so that the latter is only very loosely subordinated; as, הַכְּרוּבִים זָהָב *the cherubim of gold*, 1 Chron. xxviii. 18, cf. Num. xxi. 14; הַמְסֻכָּן תְּרוּמָה *he who is grown poor in oblation* (who can bring no oblation), Isa. xl. 20.[2] Hence also a word may intervene, as in הָעָם הַזֶּה יְרוּשָׁלַםִ *this people of Jeru-*

[1] In the same way also the words in Isa. xxix. 10 may signify *your eyes the prophetic* [ones], (properly, those of the prophets), with which correspond, in the following clause, *your seeing heads*, though the construction is slightly changed. We need not, then, strike out the words אֶת־הַנְּבִיאִים. It is certainly probable that Isaiah is here speaking against false prophets; but, on such a view, some words are wanting after ver. 11 to complete the strophe.

[2] Still more easy is it from מְלֵאַת זֶרַע *full of seed*, to resolve the expression הַמְלֵאָה הַזֶּרַע *that which is full of the seed*, Deut. xxii. 9; because

salem, Jer. viii. 5; while so loose a construction as הָעָם יִשְׂרָאֵל *the people of Israel,* in Ezra ix. 1, is unknown in the language of an earlier period. While, therefore, the construction אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת is also in itself possible, because the first word is definite even without the article (§ 277*c*), it is certain, from [743] Ps. lxxxiv. 9 and other passages, that it has merely arisen from יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת (see § 286*c*).[1] All such constructions are most easily effected when the first member, considering its ordinary use in the language, would also be intelligible enough by itself, as הָאָרוֹן הַבְּרִית *the ark* (of *the covenant*), Josh. iii. 14, though, to be more exact, the first word, which has been placed by itself [in the absolute state], may also be repeated in the construct state; as, הַנָּהָר נְהַר פְּרָת *the river Euphrates,* Deut. xi. 24, Ezra viii. 21, cf. ver. 31, Ex. xxxviii. 21.

Moreover, the fact that, in the case of words which become proper names, the article readily falls away (see § 277*c*), explains the construction כָּתֵף פְּלִשְׁתִּים *the shoulder* (*i.e.* as a proper name, *the elevated region*) *of the Philistines,* Isa. xi. 14.

f. In the case of the numerals (mentioned in § 286*d*), the article is originally placed according to the principles laid down in § 290*a;* as, שְׁלֹשֶׁת הָאֲנָשִׁים *the three men,*[2] and remains with the second word even when the numeral is prefixed without being put in the construct state, Josh. xv. 14; cf. the similar construction חֲמִשִּׁים הַצַּדִּיקִים *the fifty righteous* ones, Gen. xviii. 28. Passages like Ex. xxvi. 3, xxxvi. 10, plainly show the difference caused in such cases by the insertion or omission of the article. Inasmuch, however, as every number, like a proper noun, is *definite in itself,* the numeral may, without being put into the construct state, or in any other way made more definite, freely subordinate the following noun, whether the latter, from the meaning of the whole, be definite or not; as, Gen. xxi. 28–30, 2 Sam. xv. 16, xx. 3; cf. a similar construction with כֹּל (in § *c*). When the numeral, contrary to its original construction, is placed after the noun, it

(according to § 281*b*) מָלֵא may also, as a participle, subordinate the accusative.

[1] Ewald's *Dichter des alten Bundes,* I.*a.* p. 250.

[2] On the other hand, מְאַת הַכֶּסֶף is, *the hundredth* [part] *of the money,*—*the percentage,* as we say, Neh. v. 11.

may remain without the article, as in 1 Kings vii. 43 f., and ver. 27, cf. ver. 38; in the same way also, אֶחָד *one*, as being definite in itself, is sometimes placed after the noun, without the article, Gen. xlii. 19, Num. xxviii. 4, 1 Sam. xiii. 17, 18, Jer. xxiv. 2, Ezek. x. 9. A numeral, not joined with a noun, but in apposition to a [definite] adjective or pronoun, may be marked by the article, as, הַשִּׁשָּׁה הַנּוֹתָרִים *the six remaining ones*, Ex. xxviii. 10, Deut. xix. 9; on the contrary, Gen. ix. 19, 1 Sam. xvii. 14, cf. ver. 13. In the case of the composite numbers 11–19 (see § 268*a* [Ges. § 97, 2; Gr. § 224; Dav. § 48]), the article is either joined to the second member, as in שְׁנֵים הֶעָשָׂר *the twelve*, Josh. iv. 4, or to the first, 1 Chron. xxvii. 15.

291*a*. (3.) When the series of construct words extends to three or more nouns, the same laws obtain (see § 289 f.). If the second noun describes merely the property of the first, or is in any other way intimately connected with it, the third noun refers equally to the two preceding; as, הָרֵי מְרוֹם יִשְׂרָאֵל *the mountains of the height* (*i.e.* the lofty mountains) *of Israel*, Ezek. xvii. 23, xxxiv. 14, cf. Deut. xxxi. 16, Jer. xxxiv. 1, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10; אִישׁ מִלְחֲמוֹת תֹּעִי *the man of wars* (*i.e.* a warlike foe) *of Toi*, 2 Sam. viii. 10; נְעִים זְמִרוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל *he who is of sweet songs* (see § 288*c*; and since this is equivalent to [744] *the sweet singer*, there is at once added) *of Israel*, 2 Sam. xxiii. 1. But since, in order to secure perspicuity, *two merely descriptive* nouns cannot be placed in this way after a word in the construct state, the first one is repeated in the construct form, Deut. ix. 9; or the third noun is separated from the others (see § 292*a*). At times, however, the second noun of such a series certainly seems to remain in the absolute, so that it is only from the meaning of the whole that the third can be seen to refer to the two preceding; thus, יְמֵי עוֹלָם מֹשֶׁה *the days of yore* (*i.e.* the ancient days) *of Moses*, Isa. lxiii. 11; סוֹף דָּבָר הַכֹּל *the last word of the whole*, Eccles. xii. 13 (cf. § 290*a*).

b. To the foregoing construction of three or several nouns, corresponds that of several nouns, which are intimately connected in idea, with the pronominal suffix as the final member of the series; as, הַר קָדְשִׁי *my mountain of holiness*, i.e. my holy mountain, Ps. ii. 6; כְּלֵי מִלְחַמְתּוֹ *his weapons of war*,

Deut. i. 41; יַד יְמִינוֹ *his right hand* (*the right*, properly speaking, being a noun); עַלִּיזֵי גַּאֲוָתוֹ *his proud exulting* (warriors), Zeph. iii. 11, Isa. xiii. 3; hence also, בְּכוֹר שׁוֹרוֹ may mean *his first-born ox*, Deut. xxxiii. 17, because בְּכוֹר שׁוֹר properly means *firstling of an ox* (see § 287*g*). Poetic writers, however, readily attach the suffix to the first noun, with which it is associated in idea, and then place the second in free subordination (see § 287*e*); as, מַחֲסִי עֹז *my refuge* in *strength*, *i.e.* my strong refuge, שֹׂנְאַי שֶׁקֶר *my lying foes*, Ps. lxxi. 7; other instances are Gen. xlix. 4,[1] Hab. iii. 8, Ezek. xvi. 27, xviii. 7, 2 Sam. xxii. 33 (but the better reading is [in the parallel passage of] Ps. xviii.); also Ps. lviii. 10, according to the Massoretic division of the verse. In prose, the first noun, in such a case, is rather repeated, in the construct state, as Gen. xxxvii. 23; to this construction, however, belongs such an expression as כְּתָבָם הַמִּתְיַחֲשִׂים *their register of descent* (their genealogical tree), from כְּתָב הַמִּתְיַחֲשִׂים *book of those enrolled genealogically*, Ezra ii. 62, cf. Neh. vii. 64 (where the singular נִמְצָא more correctly stands). On the other hand, the combination בְּרִיתִי הַיּוֹם, Jer. xxxiii. 20, cannot mean *my covenant with the day*; cf. § 211*b*.[2]

3. *Expression of the Genitival relation by circumlocution.*

292*a*. When, for some reason or other, the idea of our Genitive cannot be expressed in Hebrew by the close subordination of a second noun to one which precedes, it is necessary to employ, as an auxiliary, a preposition which is inherently capable of presenting this idea. For this purpose לְ is the most appropriate; because, as the preposition of the

[1] Cf. Ewald's *History of Israel* [Eng. transl.], i. p. 373, footnote. The Ethiopic especially presents much that is similar to this construction; as, *sĕrătă qâlĕkă hăzĕ*, *the arrow-flight of thy word*, Dillmann's *Chrestomathy*, p. 127, 8, 10. [See also p. 89, at the top, and footnote.]

[2] [Ewald takes the final ִי— to be, not the suffix *my*, but the old genitival ending (Ges. § 90, 3; Gr. § 218; Dav. § 17, 1), and thinks that, as *the covenant of Abraham* is that which the patriarch observed, so *the covenant of the day* is that which, as it were, the day, when it was instituted, pledged itself to keep; hence, it is the same as that which, in Jer. xxxiii. 25, is called *its law*. See also his *Dichter des alten Bundes* (on Jeremiah).]

dative, it expresses the closest mediate relation of a noun to the sentence.[1] The cases in which [**745**] this takes place may be very various, but the most important are these:—

1. When the first noun is wholly wanting, as (*a*) in inscriptions; thus, לְדָוִד *Davidis* (carmen), a psalm of David, Ps. lxix. 1; or (*b*) when *son, day*, etc., is omitted; as, אַמְנֹן לַאֲחִינֹעַם *Amnon* (son) *of Ahinoam*, 2 Sam. iii. 2, 3, 5, Deut. i. 3, Isa. viii. 1; or (*c*) when, considering the whole structure of the sentence, a genitive is sufficient to set forth a relation which has to be expressed as briefly as possible,—in which case the German might perhaps employ *von* as a circumlocution for the genitive [case proper], Amos v. 3, ix. 1, 1 Kings xiv. 13, Jer. xxii. 4.

2. When the second noun, which is definite in itself, must be separated from the first, in order to leave the latter indefinite (see § 290*a*); as, בֵּן לְיִשַׁי *son of Jesse* (בֶּן־יִשַׁי would almost necessarily mean *the son of Jesse*), 1 Sam. xvi. 18, Gen. xli. 12, Ps. cxxii. 5*b*; מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד *a psalm of David*, שַׂר צָבָא לַמֶּלֶךְ *a general of the king*, 1 Chron. xxvii. 34, cf. Ezra ii. 63, and with this, Neh. vii. 65; similarly, *I am come as the first* [*adj.*, Ger. *erster*], *i.e.* first [*adv.*, Ger. *zuerst*] *of the house of Joseph*, רִאשׁוֹן לְבֵית יוֹסֵף, 2 Sam. xix. 21, where the noun [adjective] belongs more to the verb, as a mere attributive (adverb). It is possible, also, that the indefinite mode of expression arises merely from a desire after ease in brevity of statement, which the speaker nevertheless believed to be sufficiently intelligible (see § 277*c*, at the end); as, שַׂר צָבָא אֲשֶׁר לְדָוִד[2] *a general of David's* (a mode of expression similar to what we may use), 2 Sam. ii. 8; רָאשִׁים לְאָבוֹת *heads of fathers, i.e.* chiefs of families, Neh. xi. 13, cf. with xii. 12.

3. When a word has been inserted, or the narrative interrupted, as is especially the case after numerical statements; בִּשְׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם לַמֶּלֶךְ *in the year two of the king*, Hag. i. 1, Gen.

[1] Of course, other prepositions also might be used for the same purpose, when, in particular instances, they are still more exact than לְ; cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* ii. pp. 91–95; but, for this construction, לְ is by far the most largely employed. In certain combinations, בְּ for instance is also used (see § 287*i*). [On this use of לְ, see further, Giesebrecht, p. 70 ff.]

[2] [In Rabbinical literature, שֶׁל, a contraction of אֲשֶׁר לְ, has come to be used merely as the mark of the genitival relation: the advance in this direction is already seen in Cant. iii. 7, i. 6.]

vii. 11, 1 Kings iii. 18. Though this construction is also employed in the expression, לָאֵל . . . בָּרוּךְ *blessed* be . . . *of God* (see § 295*c*), Gen. xiv. 19, 1 Sam. xxiii. 21, yet the same idea would also be conveyed by the construct state, immediately succeeded by the second word, *i.e.* without the intervention of a preposition; thus, בְּרוּךְ אֵל, Gen. xxiv. 31, Deut. xxxiii. 13, Ps. xxxvii. 22. Similarly, when, in accordance with the meaning, and yet in some other way than that which is indicated in § 291, it is better to divide a series of constructs by a suffix or other word placed among them, then, instead of subordinating the last member in the accusative, it may be more firmly affixed to the rest by means of לְ; as, שְׁכָבְתְּךָ לְזֶרַע *thine outpouring of seed,*[1] Lev. xviii. 20, 23, compared with שִׁכְבַת זֶרַע, Lev. xv. 16, 17, 18, 32, xix. 20. With these also is connected, though more remotely, the well-known expression עִיר גְּדֹלָה לֵאלֹהִים *a great city of God,* Jonah iii. 3 (see § 288*c*). This arrangement is also readily resorted to, when, of three or more nouns, the first two are more closely connected; the separation, however, does not always take place under these circumstances (see § 291*a*), and becomes advisable only when greater clearness of construction is required; as, דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *daily events* (chronicle) *of the kings of Israel,* 1 Kings xv. 23, Gen. xli. 43, Judg. iii. 28 [746], Ruth ii. 3, iv. 3. [Further, this mode of connecting two nouns is adopted when it becomes necessary to distinguish the relation subsisting between them from that of apposition, or more strict subordination, between the succeeding members of the series; as, הָאֲתֹנוֹת לְקִישׁ אֲבִי שָׁאוּל *the asses of Kish, the father of Saul,* 1 Sam. ix. 3.] And lastly, this construction may also be employed when the speaker does not like immediately to append the following completion of the word he is using, and thus (contrary to § 290*a*) places the *article* with the first word; as, אֵלֶּה הַשָּׂרִים אֲשֶׁר לִשְׁלֹמֹה *these* (are) *the princes of Solomon,* 1 Kings iv. 2, Gen. xxix. 9, xl. 5, cf. ver. 1. But the construct, without the article, might also be frequently employed in such a case; the more wordy, instead of the more terse mode of expression is especially peculiar to the somewhat more diffuse, and often also to the later style (hence also the Aramaic much more avoids the short and simple con-

[1] [But see Philippi, *Status constructus*, p. 13, footnote.]

struct state), 2 Kings v. 9, Eccles. v. 11; the two possible modes of expression may also be found in two different members of the same sentence, Jer. xlvii. 3, even when the latter is very short, Ps. cxxiii. 4.

b. If such an indirect expression of the genitival relation happens not to stand at the beginning of the sentence, or before the word with which it is connected in meaning, it may likewise be referred to its word by אֲשֶׁר *which* (see § 331*b*), as in the case cited already (under 2), 2 Sam. ii. 8; and in the example מִרְכֶּבֶת הַמִּשְׁנֶה אֲשֶׁר לוֹ *his chariot of the second order*, Gen. xli. 43. This more precise construction is especially suitable in the case of (1) proper names, when they are not to be specified quite so rigorously, by some addition, as in § 286*c;* thus, in the somewhat later style, גִּבְּתוֹן אֲשֶׁר לַפְּלִשְׁתִּים *Gibbethon of the Philistines, i.e.* the Philistine (city) Gibbethon, 1 Kings xv. 27, xvii. 9; (2) with smaller additions, as in the case of the personal pronoun; in this way there is made a first step in the direction of the possessive pronoun, which is otherwise quite wanting in Hebrew, though already very fully developed in Aramean; thus, אֲשֶׁר לִי *my*, 1 Kings i. 33, cf. 38, Ruth ii. 21. This אֲשֶׁר cannot be employed when there is a mere interruption of the discourse.[1]

c. The *infinitive construct* readily attaches itself to any foregoing noun which can enter the construct state; thus, יוֹם סוּר אֶפְרַיִם, Isa. vii. 17, *the day when Ephraim departed* (see § 237*a*). It is very seldom that the preceding noun so strongly takes up a separate position in the sentence, as an indefinite word, that the inf. const. is appended to it by means of the preposition לְ (see § 237*c*) [747]; as, עֵת לָלֶדֶת (there is) *a time to bring forth,*

[1] In the Aramean, the דִּי or דְּ (which corresponds to the Hebrew אֲשֶׁר), even without לְ (which regularly remains only when compounded with pronouns), has finally come to be the mere sign of the genitive [see p. 112, footnote], since the relative particle in itself expresses the peculiarly genitival idea of one thing *belonging to* another. In Hebrew, אֲשֶׁר seems to occur in some few passages with this meaning; as, לַמּוֹעֵד אֲשֶׁר שְׁמוּאֵל *the appointed time of Samuel* (Samuel's appointed time), 1 Sam. xiii. 8, הָרָעָה אֲשֶׁר הֲדַד *the mischief of Hadad*, 1 Kings xi. 25. It is unsafe, however, to found, upon these few passages merely, what must so largely change the whole tone and colour of the Hebrew language: the text of the four Books of Kings [*i.e.* the two Books of Samuel, and the two Books of Kings,

Eccles. iii. 2 ff.; cf. vers. 4, 8. So, this infinitive with לְ expresses also the genitive of the Latin gerund (*nascendi*), just as we find it serving at other times as a circumlocution for other cases.

d. The preposition לְ, especially, is used as a medium of attachment to ideas which essentially resemble those of prepositions, or are even compounds formed out of prepositions, but which, nevertheless, are too inflexible to be immediately subordinated, like prepositions, to a noun. Thus, סָבִיב never has any other force in the language than that of an adverb, *around*, and does not admit of being immediately placed in the construct state, like a preposition; hence, in the case of this word, the mediate completion of the idea, by means of לְ, must be resorted to, as, סָבִיב לוֹ *round about him.*[1] To this category, accordingly, belong the words compounded with מִן, which, just because they are compounds, form a new simple idea (see § 218*c*); as, מֵעַל *over* (above) . . ., מִימִין *on the right side of* . . . Such words, from the very fact that they form a simple idea, take up more of a separate and independent position when thus compounded, and enter the sentence more as indeclinable words, like mere adverbs; especially because compound prepositions (see § 219*a*) arise from quite a different meaning, and must always be placed in immediate construction. Hence, we have מֵעַל לוֹ or מִמַּעַל לוֹ *over* (above) *him,* מִתַּחַת לוֹ *beneath him,* מֵעֵבֶר and מִנֶּגֶד לוֹ *opposite to him,* Judg. vii. 25, xx. 34, Prov. xiv. 7. Similarly מֵהָלְאָה לוֹ is, *on the other side of* (beyond) *him,* Amos v. 27. When the second member in the compound is a noun, it may remain in the construct state, but only because such a modification of the word is not necessarily cancelled by the intervention of a

usually so called] is, generally speaking, none of the purest [see Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels* (Kurzgef. exeg. Handbuch), and the more recent treatise of Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen 1871); also, Böttcher, *Neue Aehrenlese*, I. II.]; and the Septuagint lends its support to the conjecture, which so readily suggests itself, that אָמַר has fallen out of the first passage, and עָשָׂה out of the second. In the same way, אֲשֶׁר הַמֶּלֶךְ, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22, is not to be rendered "*the king's people;*" but here also, according to the Septuagint, אָמַר has dropped out after אֲשֶׁר; and, in 2 Kings xxv. 10, אֵת is wanting after אֲשֶׁר, according to Jer. lii. 14.

[1] [See further, Giesebrecht, p. 77 ff.]

preposition like לְ (see § 289*c*); as, מִבַּיִת לוֹ *inside of it*, Ex. xxvi. 33, Lev. xvi. 2; מִצָּפוֹן לוֹ *to the north of it*, מִיָּם לוֹ *west of it*, Josh. viii. 11, 13. Such compound words, however, are sometimes also construed directly, as, מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם *under the heaven*, Gen. i. 9, with which compare מִתַּחַת לָרָקִיעַ, ver. 7, in the same sense, Ezek. ix. 3, x. 4, מִימִין *on the right of* . . . without לְ, 1 Sam. xxiii. 19; and for מֵעַל לוֹ, in the sense of being [raised] *above him* (which it means in Mal. i. 5, Jonah iv. 6, like מִמַּעַל, which has arisen from מִלְמַעְלָה), there is used the shorter expression מֵעָלָיו, Neh. viii. 5, cf. Ezra ix. 6; also (with the cumulation of expressions carried out in later times, as explained in § 315*c*) לְמַעְלָה מֵעֲלֵיהֶם raised *high over them*, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 4. In the more diffuse popular style, even simple prepositions begin to be construed mediately, when they are anything longer than a single syllable, and thus can easily admit of being separated from the word which follows: thus, תַּחַת לוֹ *under it*, Cant. ii. 6, cf. the omission of לְ in viii. 3, and just in the same way 2 Chron. iv. 3 compared with ver. 15; hence also מִבֵּינוֹת לוֹ *from between it*, Ezek. x. 6, 7, and מִבַּעַד לְ *from behind* anything, Cant. iv. 1, vi. 7.[1]

[748] Even an inflected substantive may enter the construct state, in spite of the fact that לְ intrudes itself immediately after (see § *a*), as, מַמְלֶכֶת לְבַת *the kingdom of the daughter* of Jerusalem, Mic. iv. 8; here, the first word, though without the article, has the force of a definite one, in poetic language (see § 277*b*).

e. As the preposition לְ, within these limitations just specified, necessarily forms a substitute for the idea of the genitive, so does this same sign of the dative also gradually come to be used as an outward expression of the accusative,—the mediate, and hence stronger, indication of an "oblique" case taking, in this instance also, the place of an immediate and weaker one. In classic Hebrew, certainly, this use of לְ is still very rare, and chiefly confined to the case in which a verb, in harmony with the context in which the proposition stands, becomes a participle (or infinitive), and then, as having in this way become a

[1] Euphony requires בַּעַד instead of בְּעַד (see § 217*m*) after מִן, just as in מִבַּלְעֲדֵי (§ 218*c*), perhaps, as in other cases, from the concurrence of the vowels *i* . . . *a* (see §§ 108*c*, 249*b*).

noun, no longer admits of being construed as a verb; while, on the other hand, as having not yet become an ordinary noun, it does not allow itself to be forced into the construct state. This is especially the case, for instance, when the participle briefly describes a subordinate circumstance; as, *he follows* מְאַסֵּף לְכָל *closing up* [in the rear] *all the lines of the army*, Num. x. 25, cf. Lev. xii. 7, Gen. xlv. 7, Ezek. xxvi. 3, 1 Chron. xxvi. 27, xxix. 12; precisely the same usage is found in Arabic also (see Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* § 652). This construction occurs most readily in the case of certain verbs with which, even under other circumstances, the dative might intrude itself, instead of the accusative; as, לְהַצִּיל לוֹ *to deliver him* (almost the German *ihm zu helfen*), Jonah iv. 6 (see § 282*c*). Moreover, this seems also to occur when the accusative, contrary to the usual arrangement of words in a sentence (see § 309*a*), precedes its verb, as in Job v. 2 and Isa. xi. 9,—a sentence which is arranged quite differently when repeated in Hab. ii. 14. In the Aramean, however, this use of לְ to mark the accusative generally prevails where, in classic Hebrew, that case is indicated by אוֹת; and, that this Aramean mode of construction gradually makes its way into Hebrew also, has already been pointed out (see § 277*e*).

THIRD KIND OF WORD-GROUPS.

Words in Co-Ordination (Apposition).

293*a*. When neither the looser subordination of which we have first treated (see § 279 ff.) nor the more strict subordination which was last discussed (in § 286 f.), is possible, then mere co-ordination always takes place. One verb may be simply co-ordinated with another, or a noun with another, but in such a way that even then, in accordance with the general mode of constructing sentences in Semitic, the co-ordinated word does not precede, but follows the other (see § 5*c*). It has already been shown how this is realized in the case of the verb (§ 285*b*). But, as regards the *noun*, in which there is merely a continuation of the same thing, we have to remark,—

1. Adjectives and [demonstrative] pronouns are almost

always joined with their noun by co-ordination; for the more strict subordination of the adjective (see § 287*a*) is at least rare, and employed somewhat more frequently [749] only in a few connections.[1] It is just here, then, that co-ordination finds its most frequent and most important application; and this is carried out in such a way that every co-ordinated word of this kind must follow the substantive to which it belongs. But the [demonstrative] pronoun, when it appears in one connection of thought along with the adjective, finds its strictly logical position only after the latter; thus, הַיָּם הַגָּדוֹל הַזֶּה, where the order of the words is the most direct opposite of ours, viz.,—*this great sea* (Deut. i. 19, ii. 7, Num. xvi. 26). When the pronoun precedes [the adjective], the thought would be almost concluded with it; for, הַיָּם הַזֶּה הַגָּדוֹל is rather, *this sea, the great* (one), *i.e.* this sea which is great; cf. Ps. civ. 25. But the adjective and the pronoun are strictly regulated by the preceding noun, not merely in gender and number, but with respect to its character as definite or indefinite in expression. Hence, if the noun be *definite*, either in its own nature or because it has the article (see § 277), the adjective, out of regard for the evident reference of the noun, cannot remain without the article, even though this needs to be repeated; thus, הָאִישׁ הַגָּדוֹל *the great man*, בְּנִי הַגָּדוֹל *my greater* (elder) *son*, (prop. the son of me, the greater). With several adjectives, the article must always be repeated; and only after this has been done is the pronoun added, in the same way, at the close; see Gen. xli. 35, Deut. i. 10, xxviii. 58. The pronoun also, though definite in itself, nevertheless continues the use of the article in this word-group, in order to make the connection stronger; as, הַדּוֹר הַהוּא *that* (the same) *generation*, הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ οὗτος. Moreover, it is even possible, in such a case, that any other word whatever, which occupies the position of an adjective, may assume the article; as, הַיּוֹם הַמָּחֳרָת *the next day*, Neh. xi. 32; cf. § 220*b*. But the influence of a preposition, placed at the beginning, extends over the whole group of words [as, בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא *on that day*].

Favoured, however, by the restless desire of the language to

[1] How far, however, the post-fixing of an attributive and of the [demonstrative] pronoun has from the first been a peculiarity of the Semitic, is shown in Ewald's *Sprachwiss. Abh.* ii. p. 58 ff.

attain the greatest possible brevity of expression, there already occur many different kinds of exceptions to the foregoing rule, and these, too, in Hebrew more than in the other Semitic languages. Thus:—

The separate *pronoun* is frequently without the article, when the noun has only a suffix; as, אֹתֹתַי אֵלֶּה *these my signs,* Ex. x. 1, Judg. vi. 14, Jer. xxxi. 21, 1 Kings xxii. 23 (2 Chron. xviii. 22); but it is very seldom anarthrous when the noun itself has the article; as, הַדּוֹר זוּ *this generation,* Ps. xii. 8; while, in the phrase בַּלַּיְלָה הוּא *in the same night,* Gen. xix. 31, xxx. 16, xxxii. 23, 1 Sam. xix. 10, the omission of the ה before הוּא is easily accounted for, on considering the relation of the sounds to each other (see § 70*c*). But the *adjective* must continue to employ the article much more steadily; the latter is rarely omitted after a noun which merely has a suffix; as, דִּבָּתָם רָעָה *their evil report,* Gen. xxxvii. 2, xliii. 14, Cant. vi. 12, Hag. i. 4, Ezek. xxxiv. 12; still more rarely after the article has been already used, as in Ezek. xxxix. 27, Jer. ii. 21, xxii. 26 [**750**], Dan. viii. 13, xi. 31; more frequently with אֶחָד *one,* Num. xxviii. 4, compared with ver. 7 (see § 290*f*); and in the case of other numbers also, when, contrary to their original construction, they are placed after their noun (see § 290*f*).

The desire of finding convenience in brevity of expression was of itself strong enough to introduce the rare and peculiarly late construction, in accordance with which the defining power is placed only *in the middle;* as, הַר הַגָּדוֹל *the great mountain,* Zech. iv. 7, xiv. 10, 2 Sam. xii. 4, 1 Kings vii. 8, 12 (see, on the other hand, ver. 9), Jer. xxxii. 14, xl. 3 (*Kethîb*); with numerals, Gen. i. 31, ii. 3, xli. 26, Ex. xx. 30, Deut. v. 14, Jer. xxxviii. 14; compare, especially, Judg. vi. 25 with the still more definite expression in vers. 26, 28.[1] The strongest instance would be אִישׁ אֶפְרָתִי הַזֶּה *this Ephrathite man,* 1 Sam. xvii. 12; but it is somewhat doubtful whether this be really the original reading.[2] Cases in which the article is used

[1] In later languages, this more convenient mode of expression becomes more widely used; this is especially true of the language of the Mishna, in which the article is never found both with the noun and the adjective. The Arabic, on the other hand, constantly repeats the article.

[2] Namely, on account of the question as to the sources of the text [see

merely as a relative (see § 305*a*), to complete something, do not belong to this category; nor the poetic construction found in Ps. civ. 18. But the article may certainly be omitted also before a noun which is immediately to be further explained by a relative clause, as in 1 Sam. xxii. 6, 2 Sam. xviii. 18; and אִישׁ *man*, which is so often used, is sometimes even placed, without the article, before a definite adjective following, as, אִישׁ הַיִּשְׂרְאֵלִי *the Israelite*, Lev. xxiv. 10, 2 Sam. xii. 2–4 (according to the Massoretic punctuation); so that, at least in the intensely brief and rapid style adopted in poetry, we may even say יוֹם הוּא *that day*, Mic. vii. 12 (see § 277*b*).

b. Only the simple demonstrative pronoun is sometimes placed before a definite noun; as, זֶה הָעָם *this people*, זֶה מֹשֶׁה *this* [fellow] *Moses* (contemptuously, like *iste* [and οὗτος]), Ex. xxxii. 1, Josh. ix. 12 f., Isa. xxiii. 13; but this comes to be the only mode of construction in Arabic and Aramean. It is, however, also worthy of remark that, before a [demonstrative] pronoun, which is, of course, already definite in itself, the noun is sometimes left undefined [by the article], as being already definite through the pronoun following; thus חֳלִי זֶה *this sickness*, 2 Kings i. 2, viii. 8 f.[1] A totally different case is presented when the article is omitted from the preceding substantive merely because, for some special reason, it could not well be employed; thus, עֲשָׂרָה לֶחֶם הַזֶּה *these ten loaves*, 1 Sam. xvii. 17, is to be judged according to what is stated in § 287*i*, and מְעַט דְּבַשׁ הַזֶּה *this little piece of honey*, 1 Sam. xiv. 29, according to § 290*a*, 2.

On the other hand, there also arises, in Semitic, a tendency to place numerals, quite contrary to their original position (see § 286*d*), *after* the noun, simply because they gradually come to have the force of attributives; nay, there is [751] even an inclination to make a complete inversion of the original order of words, the noun remaining in the singular (as in § 287*i*). This was a

the note at the foot of pp. 114–5]; for the same reason, in 1 Sam. xix. 22, for הַגָּדוֹל, we must read, with the Septuagint, הַגֹּרֶן.

[1] It is doubtful, on the other hand, whether זֶה חֳלִי may also be used in the same meaning; because, in Jer. x. 10, we may also read instead זֶה חָלְיִי *this my sickness* (see § 17*b*).

very ancient practice among the Canaanites, as is shown by the names of the towns בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע and קִרְיַת אַרְבַּע (Ewald's *History of Israel* [English translation], i. pp. 340, 344, *footnotes*); in Hebrew, on the contrary, it is unusual, and is met with only in Neo-Hebraic; as, מִין שִׁבְעָה *the seven kinds,* M. Berachoth, vi. 4. This form of construction is somewhat different when the numeral is freely subordinated (see § 290*f*).

Of adjectives, רַבִּים *many,* is almost the only one *prefixed* to its noun, rarely, however, and in indefinite speech, as Jer. xvi. 16, Ps. xxxii. 10, lxxxix. 51, 1 Chron. xxviii. 5; at other times, the monosyllabic רַע *evil,* Prov. xxix. 6 (where it is pronounced רָע, that it may not be taken for the construct state), and similarly אָנוּשׁ, Jer. xxx. 15. Another and stronger example is found only some few times at most, in poetry, and for indicating special emphasis, as in Isa. xxviii. 21 (not necessarily in Judg. v. 15, 16). But cf. also § 329*a*.

c. It is something quite different that occurs when an adjective, which has been raised to the position and power of a noun, rather subordinates the noun with which it might be co-ordinated; by this means, the idea contained in the adjective is rendered prominent, as the more important. Such a construction may be very suitable in many connections, but it is only poetic, and rare. Thus אַמִּיץ כֹּחַ *the strength of force, τὸ κρατερὸν τῆς ἰσχύος, i.e.* the very strong power, Isa. xl. 26; קְדֹשׁ מִשְׁכְּנוֹתֶיךָ *the holy* [part] *of thy dwellings, i.e.* thy holiest dwellings, Ps. xlvi. 5, cf. lxviii. 14, cxlv. 7; Job xxxvii. 22: the construction is found even so early as in the ancient song which was, perhaps, in this respect the model for later writers, Ex. xv. 16, for in all these passages, divine attributes or things are spoken of; לִבְנַת הַסַּפִּיר *the most brilliant* [whiteness] *of sapphire, i.e.* the most brilliant sapphire, Ex. xxiv. 10. In the same way, however, the quality of a thing may also receive prominence, as the more important, by the employment of a suitable *noun;* as, אֶדֶר הַיְקָר *the magnificence of the price,* i.e. (ironically) the most magnificent price! Zech. xi. 13; cf. Job xv. 26, Ezek. xxviii. 14.

d. 2. An attributive (adverb), in the same way, stands, regularly, after its adjective; as, גָּדוֹל מְאֹד *very great.* But, at other times, it has greater freedom in the choice of position, and may

readily precede the verb; as, מְאֹד נַעֲלָה *he is very exalted!* Ps. xlvii. 10 (see also the two examples in § 279*a*); פֹּה לִינוּ *here pass the night!*

On the other hand, every word which merely indicates place or relation, and is intended further to describe a leading word in the sentence, either by itself or with the help of a preposition, must be placed, without any addition, after that word; as, הָאֲנָשִׁים אִתּוֹ *the men with him; their offerings* מִדָּם *of blood, i.e.* their bloody-offerings, Ps. xvi. 4; see further, § 287*c*. In these cases, the article cannot [752] be repeated; but, in prose, such accessory descriptions manifest an evident tendency and preference at once to become full relative sentences (see § 331*c*).[1]

e. 3. The way in which one noun is more loosely or more closely co-ordinated with another has already been described (see § 287*e*). If they are freely connected in this way, then the idea of the one must be covered by that of the other, or at least directly serve to limit it. But, even in highly impassioned language, one word that is quite heterogeneous in relation to another cannot merely be immediately co-ordinated with it, nor therefore, in a certain sense, subordinated to it; thus, even in an address to God in a style that is quite unusual, the words, *Thou, Thy name, art alone,* Ps. lxxxiii. 19, would give no sense; these words rather mean, *Thou, Thy name is Jahve* (*i.e.* Thou art called Jahve) *alone;* see § 308*a*.[2] Somewhat different is the case in which a merely supplementary word is still more fully and exactly defined; as, בְּךָ *Thee we praise* שִׁמְךָ *Thy name!* Isa. xxvi. 13, a passage in which there was the less need for repeating the בְּ [before *Thy name*], because it may also be omitted with הִזְכִּיר, when this verb means *to praise.*

In such constructions, however, as הַמִּזְבַּח הַנְּחֹשֶׁת (see § 290*d*), the second substantive might also be regarded as merely co-ordinate (see p. 107); and how readily the

[1] If, for instance, we wish to say *the man here*, we must either employ the fully inflected pronoun, thus, הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה, or more feebly זֶה הָאִישׁ, or (if פֹּה is to be used, § 105*c*) הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר פֹּה.

[2] If it were merely said אַתָּה שִׁמְךָ לְבַדְּךָ, the words might perhaps be understood (according to § 281*c*) as signifying *Thou art the only one of Thy name*, but the meaning would be less suitable.

rigid concatenation of words resolves itself into this looser construction, is perceived most clearly from the fact that הָרִים גַּבְנֻנִּים, Ps. lxviii. 17, is found near הַר גַּבְנֻנִּים, ver. 16; for, that the latter expression means *hill of summits* (eminences), follows from § 157*a*. The expression *βασιλείαν ἱερεῖς*, Rev. i. 6, may be regarded as a Hellenistic imitation of this; it would then originally mean *a kingdom of priests.*

I. FORMATION AND COMPLETION OF THE SENTENCE, VIEWED IN RELATION TO

(*A*) *Its Members.*

(*a*) *The two chief Members.*

294*a*. 1. The person forming absolutely the leading word or *subject* of the sentence, is to be understood in the sense already explained (§ 276*b*). This word consists of a noun or pronoun; if the former, it must always have the force of a substantive. Even an adjective may be raised to the possession of this power; as, הַצַּדִּיק אָבַד *the righteous perisheth,* Isa. lvii. 1, where the article is added for the purpose of distinguishing, though, in the brief style of poetry, this particle is not exactly necessary, Gen. xxv. 23. A word that has been reduced to the condition of an attributive (adverb) [753] may certainly, under any circumstances, be readily used as the predicate of a sentence (§ 296*d*), but not as the subject, unless such a word were again to become more of a living form in the language generally, as is the case with הַרְבֵּה (cf. § 280*c*); thus, הַרְבֵּה נָפַל *many* (of the people) *fell,* 2 Sam. i. 4. And, inasmuch as words like כָּמֹהוּ *as he* [like him], כָּמוֹךָ *as thou* [like thee], merely express our *such,* though much more definitely in relation to the person, they may not only occupy any position in the sentence (in any [oblique] case; see §§ 221*a*, 282*c*), but also form the subject.

In the artificial poetic language of the second period (see § 3*c*), even מִבְּלִי לוֹ (see § 323*a*) stands as a sort of compound (§ 270*c*) in the sense of *what is not his* (for it is construed as a fem. or neut.), forming the subject,

Job xviii. 15*a:* possibly also, פֹּא *here,* is once used, in Job xxxviii. 11, for *the* (this) *place;* but the LXX. had a different reading.

b. This person, however, which stands as the subject of the sentence, is frequently left without being specified, though living; because the speaker either does not exactly know it himself, or because he does not like to name it. If, then, it is necessary actually to use a verb, it may be put,—

(1.) In the *third pers. plur.*, if it cannot be more exactly stated who and how many are engaged in the transaction; as, יֹאמְרוּ *they say, it is said* [Ger. *man sagt;* Fr. *on dit*],—a construction which is very frequently used, especially because, whenever possible, active constructions are preferred to passive ones (see § 128*a*); as, יָסִירוּ אַבִּיר *they take away* [Ger. *man entfernt*] *the mighty* one, *i.e.* he is removed, Job xxxiv. 20; so that there is even formed a union of constructions (according to § 285*b*), as in לֹא תוֹסִיפִי יִקְרְאוּ לָךְ *thou shalt not add, they call thee, i.e.* thou shalt no longer be called, Isa. xlvii. 1.

(2.) The verb alone is much more rarely used impersonally in the *singular*, because it is less easy to think of the individual than the multitude, as indefinite in itself. This mode of construction is readily employed only in some special cases, as (*a*) the phrase קָרָא שֵׁם *they called the name* (of the city, child, etc.): who devised the name is often indeterminate, but it must have been only *one* person; hence, the singular has become quite confirmed in the case of this expression. (*β*) When it is possible to infer, from the action itself, who the actor was; as, יַחֲרֹשׁ *he* (the farmer) *ploughs,* Amos vi. 12, cf. viii. 3; 1 Kings xiv. 10, xviii. 26, Esth. iii. 7, Isa. vi. 10, xxxviii. 12, liii. 9, Ex. xxxiv. 4, Deut. xxxiv. 6, Job xxviii. 2 f., xl. 24; very remarkable, also, in the language of the prophets, is the expression, *he* (the angel, the spirit of the prophet) *commanded,* or *spake,* 1 Kings xiii. 9, cf. vv. 17, 18, like λέγει in the quotations made in the N. T., and similarly מַגִּיד in Zech. ix. 12, *it is said* (declared). (*γ*) Rarely under other circumstances, as, אָמַר *he* (the man, without specifying who) *said,* hence the Ger. *man spricht,* or *it is said,* 1 Sam. xix. 22, 23, xxiv. 11; Hab. ii. 6, Zech. xiii. 6, Ezek. xiii. 15 (following one of the various readings), Eccles. i. 10; other cases are found in Ex.

x. 5, 21, Lev. xxvii. 8, 11, Num. vi. 13 [754], xix. 3, 5, cf. ver. 8, 2 Sam. xvi. 23 (where the *Qeri* adds אִישׁ), Jer. xix. 11; also the expression לֹא יַעֲבֹר one *must not transgress* it (viz. the law), Ps. cxlviii. 6, Esth. i. 19, ix. 27; especially in poetry, as Job vi. 20, xv. 3, xvii. 5 f., xxi. 22, xxx. 24, Num. xxiii. 22, Isa. viii. 4, Mic. ii. 4, 8, vii. 12, and more often in Hosea.[1] This singular may also be interchanged with the plural (§ 319*a*); the variation is particularly easy in the different parallel members of poetry in its higher flights, Jer. viii. 4, ix. 7. However, because the singular is thus always rather obscure in itself, the participle from the same root is employed as the subject, for the sake of greater clearness; as, יִפֹּל הַנֹּפֵל *the falling* one *falls* (he who, any one who falls), Deut. xxii. 8, Jer. ix. 23; but this method is rarely adopted in the case of the plural, Jer. xxxi. 5. Moreover, when the meaning and structure of the sentence otherwise demand it, the personal pronoun may be added to the verbal form which has been left undetermined, as in Job xxviii. 3, Eccles. x. 10. In the expression יָלְדָה *she* (*i.e.* one, in an indefinite sense) *bare*, even the feminine singular also sometimes stands alone in this way, as in Num. xxvi. 59, 1 Kings i. 6; cf. § 295*b*.

It is, of course, possible that a person, left in this somewhat indeterminate state, when it does not form the subject of the sentence, should be subordinated as a suffix; but such a construction is not so frequently employed, on account of the greater ambiguity which would arise; see Ps. iv. 8, xxxix. 7, xlix. 9, lxv. 10, Zech. v. 6, where the plur. suffix ־ָם (cf. Isa. ix. 2) is used, and Eccles. v. 17, vii. 1, Hag. i. 6, where the sing. suffix is employed in this way.

Though, in other cases, אִישׁ *man*, like the Ger. *man*, is made use of (cf. Isa. vii. 21 with ver. 24), it is far from being so weakened in meaning as the latter word [Fr. *on*, Eng. *one*, a *person*, a *man*, indefinitely], and can rather still assume the article, as in 1 Sam. ix. 9; see further, § 278*b*.

[1] This usage occurs in Sanskrit also. In the legal style of the Mishna, the *sing.* and the *plur.* are often interchanged in this way; as, *Rosh ha-shana*, ii. 3 ff. Notably, ἔγραφε is thus used, in the most various ways, 1 Macc. vii. 16, viii. 22, xiv. 28, xv. 22, 24 (according to the more correct reading), also x. 38.

Address in the second pers. sing., *thou*, in the sense of *every one*, any one whatever, is generally employed, in Hebrew, only in the common expression used when one is indicating the way (road); thus, עַד־בֹּאֲךָ *as far as thy coming* [Gen. xiii. 10], which has become so much of an adverb that we even find no more than the shorter בֹּאֲךָ, which is then subordinated (as shown in § 204*b*). This use of *thou* is sometimes also found in legal language, as Lev. xxvii. 2 ff., Ezek. xliii. 19–27; cf. further, § 319*a*.

c. Somewhat different from the cases explained in the preceding section, in which the person of the verb is left indeterminate, is that in which the meaning of the undefined word may also be so apparent from other words of the passage, that it becomes quite unnecessary to add another one specially to explain it, even though such an addition might very well be made, as is mostly the case in modern languages. Thus, with reference to subjects previously treated of, הַעוֹד עִמָּךְ *is there still with thee?* namely, one of the kind about which we have hitherto been speaking,—a dead person, Amos vi. 10; or with reference to a limitation made [755], as, אֵין כָּמוֹךָ *there is not* one *like Thee among the gods*, Ps. lxxxvi. 8. Or, the preposition מִן gives prominence to the part as distinguished from the whole (see § 217*b*, [and the Lexicons]): this construction is very easy to understand when the verb is in the *plur.*; as, יָצְאוּ מִן־הָעָם *there went out* [some] *from the people* (how many is not specified), Ex. xvi. 27; but it is less intelligible, and hence more rarely used, with the verb in the *sing.*, as Mic. v. 1, 2 Kings x. 10, Dan. xi. 5, 7; cf. further, § 278*c*.[1]

295*a*. But the predicate alone may also become, to such an extent, the most important member in the sentence, that the strong prominence of the person, as compared with what is predicated, entirely disappears; accordingly, though the subject then always and necessarily occupies a place in the sentence, it is, under such circumstances, reduced to the smallest and least animate form possible, viz. the mere *neuter* of the third person in the verb, which is the antithesis of every living person. But, because the Hebrew has not

[1] In the same way συνῆλθον καὶ (ἐκ) τῶν μαθητῶν, Acts xxi. 16, according to the correct reading.

produced any distinct form for the neuter (see § 171 f.), the verb, in such a case, stands either in the *masc.* or *fem. singular:* of the two (*a*) the most commonly employed is the most natural, viz. the *masculine,* as in expressions of feeling; here, the construction preferred is, to subordinate, by means of the dative, the person who experiences the feeling; as, טוֹב לִי *it is good for me,* or *it goes well with me,* מַר לִי *it is bitter to me,* רַע לִי *it is evil to me,* יִנְעַם לִי *it is pleasant to me,* צַר לִי (regarding which, cf. p. 33, line 19); also רַב לִי *there grew for me, i.e.* I increased, had enough (cf. also the expression mentioned on p. 61, *note*), יָנוּחַ לִי *it is quiet for me, i.e.* I feel quiet, Job iii. 13, Neh. ix. 28, חַם לִי *it is warm to me,* I am warm (hence, in the infin., לְחֹם לוֹ *to warm himself,* Hag. i. 6), cf. Jer. vii. 6, 23, Prov. xxiv. 25, Hos. x. 1, and רָוַח לוֹ *it is wide to him,* easy, he is refreshed, 1 Sam. xvi. 23. Moreover, this construction with the masculine is used, almost without exception (but see Job xv. 32), for the passive; as, הוּחַל *coeptum est,* שֻׁדַּד *dirutum est,* מְדֻבָּר *there is spoken,* Ps. lxxxvii. 3, Mal. i. 11. (*b*) The *feminine* is especially used in the case of occurrences produced by an unseen power; as, חָשְׁכָה *it has become dark,* Mic. iii. 6, תַּמְטִיר (it—without specifying what—makes rain) *it rains,* Amos iv. 7, Jer. xiii. 16; it is also found, though rarely, in such constructions as צָרָה לִי *I fell into straits,* Judg. x. 9. (*c*) In the remaining miscellaneous expressions, the genders are used almost indifferently; as, *masc.* יִצְמַח *there is sprouting,* Zech. vi. 12; *fem.* עָלְתָה *it comes up* in my mind, Jer. vii. 31, xix. 5, xxxii. 35, xliv. 21; hence, they also change merely with the change of clauses in the same verse, Mic. i. 9; something similar is found in Ezek. xii. 25, 28.[1]

[756] It is conceivable that a person, indicated in this

[1] On the other hand, it can scarcely be proved that the subject proper may ever, under other circumstances, be omitted. For though, instead of חָרָה אַפּוֹ *his anger burned,* we may say more briefly חָרָה לוֹ, this is really a new mode of expression, *he became hot, i.e.* angry; and in the case of וַתָּחָס, 1 Sam. xxiv. 11, we have probably only a defective reading, עֵינִי having dropped out before עָלֶיךָ. Further, the Hebrew in this case, as in other respects, maintains a proper medium between the Arabic, which, at least in prose, never uses the feminine, and the Aramean, which always employs it.

indefinite manner, should not stand as the subject in the sentence, but be more closely subordinated; reference can then be made to such a person in a suffix *sing.* (like the way shown in § 294*b*), as in Job vi. 17, בְּחֻמּוֹ *when it is hot* (inf. of חַם *it is hot*); but this construction is not often used (see § 305); cf. *αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ*, according to the better reading in Matt. xxvi. 71.

b. Though the brief paraphrastic mode (just mentioned in § *a*) of using the neuter of the passive to indicate an action that is going on, is more frequently, and in every case more easily, employed in Hebrew than in Aramean, yet it is carefully to be observed that the language regards this as nothing but an easy and compendious method of expressing the idea contained in the 3d pers. plur. of the active; for, according to the Semitic forms, *dicitur* has almost a shorter sound than *dicunt*. Hence, also, an accusative is always quite as readily subordinated to such a *passive* (see §§ 207, 277*d*) as to the 3d pers. plur. of the *active*, to which it exactly corresponds in meaning; as, יֻתַּן אֶת־הָאָרֶץ *let them give the land* (let the land be given), Num. xxxii. 5, xxvi. 62, 1 Kings ii. 21, Jer. xxxv. 14 (in ver. 16 stands the corresponding active person). This construction is very common, as Gen. xvii. 5, xxvii. 42, Ex. x. 8, xxi. 28, xxv. 28, xxvii. 7, Lev. x. 18, Deut. xii. 22, xx. 8, Josh. vii. 15, 2 Sam. xxi. 11, Jer. xxxviii. 4, l. 20, Amos iv. 2, Prov. xvi. 33; the subject may either precede, as in the examples now mentioned, or follow; as, מַצּוֹת יֵאָכֵל *unleavened bread must be eaten*, Ex. xiii. 7, Num. xxviii. 17; נִכְבָּדוֹת מְדֻבָּר *glorious things are spoken* of thee, Ps. lxxxvii. 3, cf. Ex. xii. 16, xxxi. 15; Lev. ii. 8, Job xxii. 9, Isa. xiv. 3, xxi. 2, Hos. x. 6: among these occurs even the expression יֻלַּד אֶת־הַבֵּן *the son has been born* to him, which admits of easy explanation, especially when the existence of polygamy is considered, Gen. iv. 18, xxxv. 26, xlvi. 22 (x. 21, 25), Num. xxvi. 20. From this, then, we perceive how, in Hebrew, the original passive (or, more correctly, weak personal form) was so decidedly a favourite, that it was even readily preferred when the personal form was equally available; for all these examples admit of being converted into personal passives, whenever the object is made the subject; and how easily

interchangeable the two modes of expression are, is seen, *e.g.*, from Num. xxvi. 53, 55.

The transition into the strongly personal passive is most frequently made only when the active would have two objects; and then, not merely can that which, in meaning, is the nearer object, become the subject of the passive verb (as in the instances given in § 133*a* [Ges. § 143, 1; Gr. § 273, 5]), but also the more remote object, whenever the connection of the passage shows that it would be better to make the second one the subject; as, וְהָרְאָה אֶת־הַכֹּהֵן *then shall it* (the spot already spoken about) *be showed to the priest*, Lev. xiii. 49, which is, properly speaking, abbreviated from the active form of expression, וְהִרְאֻהוּ אֶת־הַכֹּהֵן *then shall they show the priest it* (viz. the spot).

[757] *c.* Generally, however, in Semitic (see § 128*a*) the passive is preferred only when the agent is not to be named; because, when he is to be mentioned, the active construction is in every case much more convenient. In this respect, the Semitic languages form the direct antithesis of the Indian, which (as if the passive disposition of the people impressed itself on their language also) prefer the passive constructions before all others. If, however, as sometimes, the agent is to be mentioned along with a passive, which has been preferred to every other form, the former is appended by means of the preposition לְ, *i.e.* by the dative, which simply expresses relation to the other;[1] as, *death is chosen* לְכֹל *for all* (*i.e.* by all), Jer. viii. 3; *wealth is kept* לִבְעָלָיו *for its owner* (by its owner), Eccles. v. 12, Prov. xiv. 20 (cf. Neh. xiii. 26), 1 Sam. ii. 3 (where לֹא stands for לוֹ, and is to be understood thus), Gen. xiv. 19, 2 Sam. xvii. 16 (יְבֻלַּע לִי it is swallowed by me, *i.e.* *I must suffer* the misfortune): this freer mode of expression appears not to have become usual in prose till later, Neh. vi. 1, 7, xiii. 27, Esth. iv. 3, v. 12. Much more rare is the use of מִן *by* (as in Latin and the modern languages) to give greater prominence to the person, Job xxiv. 1, xxviii. 4, Ps. xxxvii. 23, Eccles. xii. 11, Dan. viii. 11;[2] these passages,

[1] [See further, Giesebrecht on the Hebrew preposition Lamed, p. 62 ff.]

[2] Probably also Isa. lviii. 12, taking בָּנֶיךָ as the reading; because the rendering *some* [out] *of thee shall build* (see § 294*c*) is unsuitable in this connection.

moreover, exhibit a purely poetic style of speech; and they are different from those cases in which מִן, placed before a similar noun, merely expresses the cause, and is thus used interchangeably with בְּ, as Isa. xxviii. 7.

d. Just as we saw (in § *b*) that an idea which, strictly speaking, might be raised to the position of the subject in a sentence, sinks to the condition of the object when it is found with a passive form, in consequence of an active turn being given to the meaning; so the same thing may take place with הָיָה לִי *I came to have,* since this is nearly equivalent in meaning to *I have,*[1] as we may with certainty infer from Gen. xlvii. 24, Ex. xii. 49, xxviii. 7, Num. ix. 14, xv. 29, Deut. xviii. 2, Eccles. ii. 7, 1 Chron. xxiv. 28, 2 Chron. xvii. 13;[2] hence, the noun is even subordinated in the accusative, in Ezek. xxxv. 10, though הָיָה is not taken as a neuter; but in 2 Sam. iv. 2, we must read לְבֶן for בֶּן. With this we may also class יִתֵּן, which, in Prov. xiii. 10, Job xxxvii. 10, exactly answers to the Ger. *es gibt* [lit. *it gives*], *there is.*

[758] *e.* Of cases in which the subject of a proposition is scarcely indicated, the direct opposite seems at first sight to be exemplified when a whole proposition is simply made the subject of a larger one, and therefore not stated by itself, but (perhaps by employing the infinitive, as shown in § 237) briefly comprised under a mere noun-idea, and placed in the sentence in this form. But such a subject is, rather, not less inanimate because that half of the sentence which it represents always endeavours to take up a more independent position as a proposition; hence, the predicate, in this case also, becomes the more prominent member. And if the person, in the subordinate proposition, is not specified, the infinitive, as in German [and English], may be very loosely joined with it; as, טוֹב לָשֶׁבֶת it is *good to dwell*, or *that one should dwell,* Prov. xxi. 9 (cf. ver. 19, where לְ is wanting); לֹא לְךָ לְהַקְטִיר *it is not*

[1] [See Giesebrecht, p. 61.]

[2] In the same way in Ethiopic, *bākă*, prop. *there is in thee*, *i.e.* thou hast, and negatively *'ălībākă*, are used with the accusative, as Matt. v. 46, vi. 1. The same construction presents itself in Syriac, as Cyr. hom. syr. p. 4, 1, line 8, 5; and in the Coptic, in which ⲟⲩⲟⲛ (corresponding to יֵשׁ, on which see § 299*a*), with a suffix of possession, governs the accusative, Acts ix. 31, xv. 21, xviii. 10, xix. 38.

thine (thy business) *to offer sacrifice*, 2 Chron. xxvi. 18; the infinitive may even be joined still more loosely, with בְּ; as, לֹא יִקְשֶׁה בְעֵינֶךָ בְּשַׁלֵּחֲךָ *it must not be hard in thine eyes* (*i.e.* appear hard to thee) *in thy discharging* (when thou dost release) thy slave, Deut. xv. 18. It is only when the infinitive is placed in the construct state, in immediate relation to a person, as the subject of its original sentence, that it is not subordinated by means of לְ (see § 287); as, לֹא טוֹב הֱיוֹת הָאָדָם *not good* is *the being of the man* (*i.e.* it is not good that the man should be) alone, Gen. ii. 18; cf. a similar case in Prov. xxv. 7. But under other circumstances also, לְ is by no means indispensable [before the infinitive] at least in poetic discourse; and passages like Prov. xvii. 26, xviii. 5, show that it is especially avoided when it is to be required afterwards, for giving more support to another infinitive.

If possible, the subject is still more briefly indicated in expressions resembling those just explained, except that the leading thought consists in a still smaller word, *e.g.* a negative, or a preposition. Thus, לֹא לְהַזְכִּיר (is it) *not to be mentioned*, i.e. one must not mention . . . Amos vi. 10;[1] cf. הֲלֹא לָכֶם לָדַעַת (is it) *not yours* (L. *vestrum*, according to § 292), *i.e.* your duty, *to know?* Mic. iii. 1; nay, the infinitive with לְ may be used alone in this way, quite shortly, Isa. lvii. 15. This is particularly often the case when the preposition עַל may be regarded as expressing what is *obligatory* or *necessary* (see § 217*i*): the action which is incumbent on a person is loosely subordinated by means of the infinitive with לְ, as, עָלַי לָתֵת *it is incumbent on me to give*, 2 Sam. xviii. 11; but a noun gradually comes to be subordinated quite as loosely, by means of בְּ (which has, perhaps, the same force with nouns as לְ with infinitives), as, עֲלֵיהֶם בַּמְּלָאכָה prop. *it is incumbent on them with the business*, *i.e.* they must execute the business, 1 Chron. ix. 33, Ezra iii. 3 (following the Massoretic reading), Zech. xii. 2. But contrariwise, לִי עָלֶיךָ may mean, *it is mine* (*i.e.* I must show care) *over thee*, Ezek. xv. 10.[2]

[1] [But this construction may also express *impossibility*, as לֹא לְהוֹרִישׁ in Judg. i. 19; such a meaning is required by the context, and confirmed by the fuller parallel passage, Josh. xvii. 12.]

[2] [No such passage exists, nor is it evident what special instance Ewald could have meant.]

Similarly, we even find the substantive verb once used; בְּרָעָה הָיְתָה בְּבֵיתוֹ *with misfortune was it in his house* (misfortune befell his house), [759] 1 Chron. vii. 23: the writer, indeed, has ventured on this mode of expression only for the purpose of explaining a proper name; but similar brevity is shown when it is said, *according to the anger of Jahve* הָיְתָה *it happened* (or came) בִּיהוּדָה *to Judah*, 2 Kings xxiv. 3 (where we must read אַף for פִּי), 20.

296*a*. 2. Though the *predicate* forms, as it were, the match of the subject, is of equal importance with it, and (see § 276*a*) is to be regarded, equally with it, as in the nominative, when represented by a mere noun; yet, inasmuch as it can merely describe the state or condition of the leading word, the latter remains comparatively less affected by inflection, while the other [viz. the predicate] may exhibit much greater variety in expression. However, it is almost always a verb, or a mere descriptive word (an adjective or participle); if it be the latter, the article is unnecessary, and the predicate is quite simple [*i.e.* takes no addition]; as, צַדִּיק יַהְוֶה *righteous* (is) *Jahve*. The sense, however, may necessitate the use of the article, *e.g.* when comparison or pre-eminence is to be specially indicated; as, יַהְוֶה הַצַּדִּיק *Jahve* is *the righteous* one, viz. in this matter which is spoken of, Ex. ix. 27 (cf. § 277*a*); or when a participle gives such strong prominence to a property, that it combines with the article and takes up more of a separate position, the article having the meaning of *he who* (that which); as, פִּי הַמְדַבֵּר *my mouth* is *that which speaks*, Gen. xlv. 12, Isa. xiv. 27, Zech. vii. 6, cf. Ps. xix. 11.

b. Instead of an adjective, there may also be found a noun which indicates the property; and this because an adjective either has not yet been formed, or become current. [Ges. § 106.] In this respect, the Hebrew, like the Arabic, is very brief and bold, especially because it expresses so many descriptive ideas by means of nouns (see § 287*f*) which are subordinated to another. If, then, one were constantly to say קִיר עֵץ *a wall of wood*, *i.e.* a wooden wall, this would only be somewhat further abbreviated by such a noun being used absolutely as the predicate (as also for the object; see § 284*a*). Thus, קִירֹתָיו עֵץ *its walls* are *wood*, *i.e.* wooden, Ezek. xli. 22; the same construction is often used in speaking of artificers' work; also,

in the language of agriculture, as *the flax* was *flower* (in bloom), Ex. ix. 31, cf. Cant. ii. 15,[1] Ezra x. 13, and in other miscellaneous expressions of a similar kind, 1 Sam. xxi. 6, Gen. xi. 1, Ex. xxxii. 16, Deut. xxxiii. 25, Jer. xxiv. 2, Isa. vii. 24, Jer. xliv. 2, xlix. 23, Ps. cxix. 75. With such predicates, accordingly, the subject which has just been mentioned is easily repeated, mentally, in the construct state, as part of the predicate (thus, *its walls* are walls of *wood*); this case is found in the following poetic expressions of a bolder kind, כִּסְאֲךָ אֱלֹהִים *thy throne* is (a throne of) *God, i.e.* divine, Ps. xlv. 7, cf. ver. 9; *thine eyes* are (eyes of) *doves*, Cant. i. 15. Further, [760] many words of the kind are found only in poetry; as, גַּלְמוּד *a rock, i.e.* barren, Job xv. 34, xxx. 3. Or, an abstract noun surpasses the adjective itself in extreme brevity combined with fulness; as *God is truth, i.e.* nothing but truth, Jer. x. 10, Ps. xix. 10; *be a blessing! i.e.* an example and instrument of blessing (hence, more than merely *blessed*), Gen. xii. 2, cf. Ps. xxi. 7; *I am prayer*, nothing but prayer,—as it were quite lost in, and identified with it, Ps. cix. 4, cf. cx. 3, Job xix. 29, xxiii. 2, xxvi. 13, Eccles. x. 12, Isa. v. 12, xi. 10, xxix. 2, Ezek. xxvii. 36, xxviii. 19, Dan. ix. 23, cf. x. 11, 19. That the language regarded such a word as really in the nominative, is plainly shown at least by the Arabic; see Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* § 655, ii. p. 146.

c. More rarely, the predicate is represented by the *infinitive*, while a noun forms the subject of the sentence; thus, *the words of the wicked are* אֱרָב־דָּם *to lie in wait for blood, i.e.* that they wish to lie in wait for the innocent, Prov. xii. 6, cf. xiii. 19. More frequent is the use of an infinitive with לְ (see § 237*c*); as, אֵין עִמְּךָ לְהִתְיַצֵּב *it is not* (possible) *to stand before thee, i.e.* no one can stand before thee, 2 Chron. xx. 6; יְהוָה לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי *Jahve* is *to help me, i.e.* must and will help me, *is est qui me juvet*, Isa. xxxviii. 20.

d. But lastly, it is possible that an idea, from having been generally so employed already, may have become a mere word expressing a relation (*i.e.* a preposition), or an attributive (adverb), and hence must be used as the predicate in that

[1] On the other hand, in ver. 13, because the full predicate is found only after them, the same words form a mere group (see § 287*h*) signifying *the vineyards* in *bloom*, *i.e.* the blooming vineyards.

form, just because the language has no word more suitable. Thus, הֲשָׁלוֹם אֲבִיכֶם *is your father well?* Gen. xliii. 27, 2 Sam. xx. 9, because שָׁלוֹם is a noun (see § 150), and we can still say, in accordance with the earlier mode of construction, הֲשָׁלוֹם לַאֲבִיכֶם, 2 Sam. xviii. 32, Gen. xxix. 6, Ps. cxx. 7; moreover, *thy reward* הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד is *very great*, Gen. xv. 1 (see § 280*c*). Similarly, מְעַט, Lat. *parum*, as a word that has become indeclinable, serves for any relation in the sentence, hence also for the predicate, even when combined with other words, as, מְעַט וְרָעִים *few and evil* (the latter word being properly *plur.*) were *the years of my life*, Gen. xlvii. 9, cf. Jer. xlii. 2; and with the article, when the meaning requires it, as, *ye are* הַמְעַט *the fewest of all peoples*, Deut. vii. 7; it is only the latest writers who form from it the new *plur.* מְעַטִּים, when this, as the predicate, refers to the subject in the plural, Ps. cix. 8, Eccles. v. 1. The artificial style of the second age of poetry (see § 3*c*) goes still further in this direction: one may briefly say, in it, *we are yesterday* [L. *hesterni*, *χθεσινοί*, Ger. *gestrige*], Job viii. 9, because originally such an expression as אַנְשֵׁי תְמוֹל might very well be used (see § *b*); *the word* which was *gentle* (on לָאַט, see §§ 146*f*, 217*d* [or the Lexicons, under אַט]) *with thee*, or *towards thee*, Job xv. 11, after the manner of a relative sentence (§ 332). But such an expression as, *ye are become* לֹא *not*, in the sense of *nothing, nonentities* [Ger. *nichtig*], would be impossible even for the boldest poet; because one could never say, using לֹא (which is too weak for the purpose), אַנְשֵׁי לֹא; hence, in Job vi. 21, for the negative we must read לִי.

[761] Moreover, every noun subordinated by means of a preposition may serve as the predicate; thus, הוּא בַּשָּׂדֶה *he is in the field:* but the brief הוּא may then, like any substantive, serve as the leading word (see § 297*b*); however, זֶה בַּשָּׂדֶה might easily bear quite another meaning, viz. *here in the field* (see p. 481).

297*a*. 3. The conjunction of these two necessary elements forms, in Semitic, as in every primitive language, a complete proposition; as, אֲנִי יְהוָה *I* am *Jahve*, צַדִּיק הוּא *He* is *righteous*, לִי גְבוּרָה *to me* (i.e. *mine;* see § 292) is *strength*, קְצִיר הַיּוֹם *harvest* is *to-day*, 1 Sam. xii. 17. An external sign for connecting these two main constituents of a proposition, when the predicate is not to be a verb—in other words, a *copula* (as it is

now called)—is really unnecessary; because the mode in which the discourse is delivered by the living voice is of itself sufficient to indicate the separation, in meaning, between the two different halves of the sentence; and, in Hebrew, a special word for this purpose is, in actual fact, very rarely used. The Indo-Germanic languages began pretty early to use the verb *to be* for this sign, when the predicate did not consist of a more complete verb, and thus the substantive verb came to be the mere copula in a sentence; whereas the Semitic languages properly do not yet know of any such usage, and have, in this respect also, remained much more simple.

b. The pronoun of the third (*i.e.* the most general) person, however, serves to indicate existence in the most general way, wherever there is an absence, in the sentence, of any more specific predicate; as, אֲנִי הוּא *I* am *he* (or, as we may then say, using words of more neuter meaning, *it* is *I*), אֲנַחְנוּ הֵם *it* is *we*, נֶגַע הוּא *it* is *a stroke* [plague, spot], Lev. xiii. 4, 49, and in a stronger case, *what has been long ago* הוּא is [now], Eccles. iii. 15.[1] Beginning with this use, it of course serves, in other cases also, to indicate our verb *to be*, when tense and mood are not of much importance (see § 298), but specially only when it is most necessary to separate the subject from the predicate, because both of these are *definite;* as, הַדָּם הוּא הַנֶּפֶשׁ *the blood is the soul*, Deut. xii. 23, דָּוִד הוּא הַקָּטָן *David is* (or, in a circumstantial clause, when the past is spoken of, *was*) *the smallest*, 1 Sam. xvii. 14 (see § 306*b*), where הַקָּטָן would readily be joined in apposition (according to § 293*a*), so as to mean *the little David;* yet, even in this case, the pronoun is by no means necessary, see 1 Kings iii. 22, 23, 26. Moreover, it is readily employed after a pronoun, placed, for greater emphasis, in front, and apart from other words, especially in the case of actual persons; as, מָה הֵמָּה אֵלֶּה *what are these?* Zech. iv. 5 (but compare ver. 4 and i. 9, where the pronoun is wanting), Gen. xxv. 16. It is different when (in accordance with § 309*b*) the subject precedes, and is of considerable extent, the continuity of discourse being therefore somewhat interrupted; as, *these men—peaceable* (are) *they*, Gen. xxxiv. 21, xlii. 11 [762] Mal. i. 7, 12. But it gradually comes to be frequently used

[1] This rendering, of course, is contrary to the accents.

as the copula in other cases also, and to a very large extent, for instance, in Ecclesiastes; also with an indefinite subject, Jer. l. 25. But, because הוּא itself always contains the predicate, though imperfectly,[1] this third personal pronoun is also used, quite correctly, along with one of a different person; as, אַתָּה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים *Thou art God*, 2 Sam. vii. 28, Ps. xliv. 5, Zeph. ii. 12.

Poetic writers come to use this personal pronoun also by itself, for *he is*, after a word in the construct state (see § 286*i*), hence in a sentence already half begun, Nah. ii. 9, Isa. xviii. 2, 7.

Hence also, הוּא, which is the most handy pronoun, serves as the briefest explanatory particle, to express our *that is;* as, בֶּלַע הוּא צֹעַר *Bela*, i.e. *Zoar*, Gen. xiv. 7, 8, Judg. vii. 1: this is a mere literary form of expression; see, however, Gen. xxxvi. 19, 43. But the pronoun varies, of course, with the number and gender of the noun that is to explained; as, *Egypt* (*i.e.* the Egyptians) הֵם *they are* . . . ; or, as we express it, *that is* . . . Isa. xxx. 7.

298*a*. The verb הָיָה *to be*, is, strictly speaking, used only when a *verb* is required to represent the idea of *becoming, being, existing*, hence for what is absolutely past or future; as, אִישׁ הָיָה *a man was* once (there was once a man), Job i. 1; and often for the voluntative, as also constantly for the imperative. Except in Ex. ix. 3, a participle, *being*, occurs only in later writers; because, for the present, as the tense which most readily suggests itself, there is usually no copula at all, or the personal pronoun is sufficient; in parenthetical sentences, also, הָיָה is seldom used of the past, Judg. viii. 11. The word, of course, gradually comes to be employed somewhat more freely, for our verb *to be;* it is particularly to be observed that לֹא הָיָה is often used, in a negative sentence (*i.e.* one of a more em-

[1] That we must so regard the matter admits of no doubt in itself, and is further confirmed by the Ethiopic, in which the pronoun already serves rather as the copula, though still in such a way that we must say, for instance, *ye* (are) *it the salt of the earth.* A different course of development, indeed, has been followed by the Syriac, which may repeat the same person, as if it constituted a verb; this, however, applies in Syriac only to the first person, not the second [rather, both to the first and second persons; see Uhlemann's *Syriac Gram.* § 54, 3].

phatic character), for our *he is not*,[1] Gen. xlii. 11, 31, and placed alone [without any other word following] in the sense of *he is lost, gone*, Isa. xv. 6, xxiii. 13, Ezek. xxi. 32: still, it always remains far from being identical with our modern verb *to be*.

b. Moreover, just as the idea of the verb *to be* is placed in immediate construction with the word which more exactly forms the predicate, so [763] also may those verbs which describe a somewhat more specific kind of being (see § 285*e*), *e.g.* verbs which signify *commencing* to be, *i.e.* becoming, Gen. ix. 20, 1 Sam. iii. 2; verbs of *hastening*, *i.e.* quickly becoming, Isa. xlix. 17; and those of *ceasing* to be, Isa. xxxiii. 1, Ps. ix. 7, Hos. vii. 4: indeed, it is just through this immediate construction with the more exact predicate, and only after it is formed, that they receive their restriction to the particular kind of being; as, הֵחֵל חֶרְמֵשׁ בַּקָּמָה *the sickle has begun* (*i.e.* is only now for the first time) *in the* (growing) *corn*, Deut. xvi. 9. But, because a species of being—a state or condition—is thereby described, the following verb, if such a word be required for the more specific predicate, most readily chooses the participial form[2] (see § 168*c*); as Isa. xxxiii. 1, where, however, in the other member, the infinitive with לְ is used instead of the participle. Verbs denoting *continuance* would be construed in the same way, and may have the same force in the language; in Jer. xxiii. 26 is found an example of this, at least in meaning; cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* ii. p. 150 f. [Wright's *Arab. Gram.* ii. § 42]. The verb הָפַךְ *to turn*, at least in the Book of Origins [see footnote, p. 32], Lev. xiii. 3 ff., also סוֹבֵב in the sense of *becoming*, in Jer. xxxi. 22, is put in immediate construction with what more precisely forms the predicate,

[1] Compare also لم يكن and Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* § 658; in particular, the Ethiopic *'îkână*, and Syriac ܠܐ ܗܘܐ, in many constructions, merely express the more decided *not*. Care must be taken not to class under this category what does not belong to it; thus, הָיָה in Eccles. vi. 10, vii. 24, is in the perfect only because it depends on מַה־שֶּׁ (see § 357*c*) *whatever exists*; and in Eccles. vii. 19, הָיוּ may be the simple preterite.

[2] This construction is quite usual in Syriac, and cannot have arisen from imitation of the Greek. So, too, the Neo-Hebraic verb הִתְחִיל *to begin*, derived from the old word תְּחִלָּה *beginning* (see § 161*b*), is construed with the participle, in M. נזיר 2, 9, twice.

just as the Ger. *werden*, which is connected with the Lat. *vertere* and Sansk. *vrit*, properly expresses the change into a new condition.[1]

299*a*. Those particles which, without being actually verbs, yet really and properly express being, either generally, or in some of its special kinds (see § 262*b* f.), mostly subordinate that to which they refer, so that the whole sentence, strictly speaking, proceeds from a terse and pointed particle of this nature; as, הִנְנִי *behold me!* i.e. *here I am*, יֵשׁ תִּקְוָה *existence of hope*, i.e. *there is hope*, one is not without hope, Job xi. 18, cf. Lam. iii. 29, Ruth i. 12, יֵשׁ אֹהֵב *there are friends*, or rather, in conjunction with a succeeding relative clause, *many a friend* (is more faithful than a brother), Prov. xviii. 24, יֵשׁ עוֹנֶךָ *there is* one *that hears* (and answers) *thee*, such an one is not wanting, Job v. 1. Here, יֵשׁ is always followed by indefinite nouns, and these, too, in the singular (see § 278*a*); far more rarely is יֵשׁ construed with a definite noun, *e.g.* on account of a circumstantial clause (see § 306*c*), as in Judg. vi. 13, or on account of a similar [764] conditional sentence (see § 355*b*). Hence we must say that יֵשׁ always posits the *is* emphatically, and indicates that there is no want of something. Similarly, on the one hand, רֹב אָדָם, taken by itself, signifies *enough of men*, but, with a following relative clause, there are *often men;* on the other hand, אֵין *there is not* (see § 321*a*), אֶפֶס *there is no more*, as אֶפֶס מָקוֹם *there is no more place* (room), Isa. v. 8, and, with a similar meaning, בְּלִי, Isa. xxviii. 8; also, by compounding, as אֵינָם עוֹד *they are no more*, Ps. civ. 35; in the case of עוֹד, special notice should be taken of the exceedingly brief expression, *there is yet to him only the kingdom, i.e.* nothing more than this is wanting to him, it is only this that he does not yet possess, 1 Sam. xviii. 8. If a verb be added to such a particle, in order to render the predicate more complete and exact, it is mostly subordinated as a *participle*, just as in § 298*b*, Josh. iii. 11, Job i. 16, unless, for some special reason, the preterite

[1] Cf. the English *he turns monk*, a mode of expression which most readily agrees with that in Jeremiah, *loc. cit.* But حَالَ *to return* is also frequently construed with the accus., in the sense of *once more becoming*, *Harîri*, p. 164, 1, *Fâkih. Khul.* p. 111, thrice; cf. the Hellenistic ἀποστρέφειν εἰς μικράν (fem.) *to become small*, Bar. ii. 29.

is to be more precisely distinguished, Gen. xxii. 20; it deserves to be noticed that הִנֵּה, inasmuch as it seeks to subordinate a noun, also takes the verb into construction with itself by means of the *infinitive*, Judg. xix. 9.

Since, however, these particles oscillate in meaning between the noun and the verb,—having their origin in the former and deriving their force from the latter,—they also begin to be regarded as the second half of the proposition, and hence to be used more freely, like the third person of a verb. They may be employed by themselves, whenever the meaning is evident from the context;[1] as, יֵשׁ אִתָּךְ *it is with thee,* i.e. thou certainly hast it, or canst do it, Prov. iii. 28. הִנֵּה especially has an independent power of reference to something existing, when the subject treated of is a person already defined, or plainly indicated by the context; as, הִנֵּה בָאֹהֶל *there* he is (or *she* is; also plur. *they are*) *in the tent,* Gen. xviii. 9, 1 Sam. xix. 22, 1 Kings xxi. 18; and, when the past is spoken of, *he was* (or, *they were*), 2 Kings vi. 20; but also הִנֵּה עַם אֶחָד *there* is (or, *it is*) *one people,*—the reference being presupposed by the speaker, Gen. xi. 6, Num. xxiii. 9, 24; and finally, it is used wholly by itself, without any more specific predicate, though such a construction is possible only in brief poetic speech; as, הִנֵּה *there he is!* (the well-known one), Job ix. 19,—just in the same way as אַיֵּה *where is he?* Job xv. 23. Further, these particles may also be separated from that to which they refer, by intervening words; or they may even be placed after a subject, just like a verb (except in the case of הִנֵּה, which, as being merely demonstrative, must always stand at the beginning); they then revert to the absolute state, especially when a short, pointed, circumstantial sentence is to be formed (see § 306*c*); as, יֶשׁ לִי רָב *I have much,* עֵינַיִם יֵשׁ *there are eyes,* eyes are not wanting, כֹּחַ אַיִן *there is no strength,* Gen. xxxiii. 9, 11, Judg. xix. 19, Isa. xliii. 8, xxxvii. 3. And finally, they may also stand alone in this way, when it is evident from the context to what they refer; as, אָפֶס *there is no more* [765], Amos vi. 10; and in the concinnate style of the later poets, כְּאַיִן *when* there would be *nothing,* then . . . *i.e.*

[1] In this whole matter, the Hebrew and Aramaic have become much more free than the Arabic, which can never allow such particles to remain without their complementary words.

there was not much wanting, so that . . . [*i.e.* almost, well-nigh], Ps. lxxiii. 2. Cf. §§ 286*h*, 321*a*.[1]

b. Instead, then, of the one verb *to be*, with its abstract, general meaning, which is used by the Indo-European languages, the Semitic tongues, when that which more exactly forms the predicate is not at once and by itself introduced into the proposition, have really a large number of expressions of different kinds, which render the idea of that verb in a manner suitable to each particular instance; this could not be otherwise, so long as the proper particle, sufficient for all requirements, was still wanting. Lastly, another expression still, belonging to the category now under consideration, is afforded by the preposition בְּ (see § 217*f*), inasmuch as this particle is capable of specifying that *in which* or *for which* anything consists; it is found almost solely with the more specific predicate, as, *I appeared to them* (in which statement there is already a predication) בְּאֵל שַׁדָּי in the character of *the Almighty God*, Ex. vi. 3, Ps. xxxix. 7; then also in such a way that it serves to introduce a name, as, בְּיִצְחָק *as Isaac*, or, as we say more briefly, "*Isaac*" is to be the name of a descendant of thine,[2] Gen. xxi. 12; hence also, in the last place, to impart a greater degree of solemnity to the predicate itself when this consists of a noun or similar word, as, בְּיָהּ שְׁמוֹ *as Jah* is *His name* (or, His name passes as Jah), *i.e.* "*Jah*" is *His name*, Ps. lxviii. 5, Job xxiii. 13; but, beyond these few examples of a purely poetic and rare mode of expression, the latter usage is scarcely met with in Hebrew.[3]

[1] The Semitic is not quite singular in using such *noun-verbs;* in the Coptic, ΟΥΟΝ and such like words show most resemblance; the Turkish وار exactly corresponds in meaning to the Heb. יֵשׁ, the only difference being that, in the former language, as regards the arrangement of words, it was originally put after the word to which it referred. Even in Armenian something similar is found, see Ewald's *Sprachwiss. Abhandl.* i. p. 63 ff.; and the Greek also falls back upon the same method, in the case of ἔνι.

[2] This is the same as when, to a proper name, an *-iti* or *-nâma* is added in Sanskrit, or a ϪЄ prefixed in Coptic. [But, in opposition to Ewald's rendering, see the context of the passage itself, and Rom. ix. 7.]

[3] In Arabic it is more frequent; but, even there, it is found only in *negative* sentences. Formerly, much was said about a *Bêth essentiae*, which, however, was not properly understood; cf. also Tabrîzî on the *Hamâsa*,

A different case is presented when an adjective in the neuter, with בְּ, forms the predicate, either alone, as, בְּרָע הוּא *it* (the people) is *in evil* plight, Ex. xxxii. 22, cf. v. 19; or with the more specific predicate, as Isa. xl. 10, Gen. xlix. 24, which have been already explained (see § 172*b*); or when a noun with בְּ predicates *wherein* something consists, or indicates the power, quality, etc., which anything *possesses*, as, *a wise man* is *with firmness*, *i.e.* possesses it, Prov. viii. 8, xxiii. 17*b*, xxiv. 5. The idea of our verb *to have* may also be expressed in this way: *the days of our years* בָּהֶם *in them* are (*i.e.* they have, comprise) *seventy years*, Ps. xc. 10.[1]

c. Finally, either half of the [766] proposition may consist of a broken sentence, or part of a sentence, so that it is only those possessed of considerable acumen who can perceive that such broken words are intended to form the half of a true intelligible proposition. This is not to be looked for so much in the simpler as in the more artificial and facetious style; Eccles. vii. 12 affords two examples—

Shaded by wisdom—shaded by wealth!
The benefit of knowledge: wisdom refreshes its possessor!

Or the predicate may merely refer, quite briefly, to all that has already been stated; as in Eccles. xii. 13, *this* (such) is *the whole man!*[2]

(*b*) *The Secondary Members of the Sentence.*

300*a*. A sentence may be very largely extended, merely in consequence of the fact that its two leading members are conjoined, since each of these admits of being expanded into groups of words of greater or less extent (see § 276 ff.). But still further additions may be made to the sentence in the shape of more freely placed extensions, consisting of individual words or groups of words, and attached in such a way

p. 185, 20 ff. In Ethiopic, *ĕnĕtă* is used, as in Dillmann's *Chrestomathy*, p. 10, line 5 from bottom.

[1] In similar cases, the Arabic employs its فِي.

[2] Cf. Ewald's *Johanneischen Schriften*, i. p. 501.

that they belong more to the sentence as a whole than to any special one of its two main portions. Strictly speaking, however, such extensions are, for the most part, either more particularly connected with the meaning of the predicate, or with that of the leading word (the subject); hence we have the three following kinds of secondary members in a sentence:—

1. Statements of time, place, and similar relations, which, though not more closely connected with the predicate, yet really refer more to it than to the subject. The prepositions, of course, are most largely used here to indicate such relations in the sentence; but the mere accusative, as such, likewise readily suffices for the purpose (see § 204*a*). And certain modes of expression, whose meaning may be rendered still more explicit by the employment of a preposition, are, either in consequence of frequent use, or from the innovations of poetic licence, gradually abbreviated in such a way that they accept the shortest mode of construction by means of the accusative. This construction is of itself sufficient,—

(*a*) In statements of *measure*, or *space*. But much depends on the usage observed by the language in each particular instance; thus, הַשָּׁמַיִם *the heaven, i.e.* above, 1 Kings viii. 32 ff., as we can even say, for a predicate, גָּבְהֵי שָׁמַיִם *heights of heaven! i.e.* as high as heaven, Job xi. 8, cf. xxii. 12; הֶחָצֵר הָאַחֶרֶת *the other court,* in brief architectural description, for *in the other court,* 1 Kings vii. 8. In statements of *time,* the accusative alone is sufficient, when the action continues throughout the whole length of the period indicated, as, *he wandered* יָמִים רַבִּים *many days;* (during the whole of) *the thirteenth year they had rebelled,* Gen. xiv. 4, cf. ver. 5; הַיָּמִים הַבָּאִים (during) *the coming* (future) *days* [767], all is forgotten, Eccles. ii. 16. But the accusative may also be used when the action does not extend through the whole space of time mentioned, as in common expressions like הַשָּׁנָה *the* (this) *year* thou shalt die, Jer. xxviii. 16; or, *they came* רֹאשׁ הָאַשְׁמֹרֶת *at the beginning of the* (middle) *night-watch,* Judg. vii. 19; חֲצוֹת לַיְלָה *at the middle of the night,* Job xxxiv. 20, Ps. cxix. 62, instead of which we still find in prose the full infinitival expression כַּחֲצוֹת הַלַּיְלָה, Ex. xi. 4, so that the infinitive has, in this case, finally become as much shortened as in בֹּאֲךָ, which has already been explained on p. 125 f.

(*b*) In statements of *place*, the simple accusative is sufficient, whenever it is used to indicate measurement in length and breadth. Under other circumstances, בְּ *in*, is omitted only in certain expressions which are frequently used; as, פֶּתַח, *door of . . . i.e.* outside, in front of . . . ; בֵּית *house of* . . . i.e. *with* a person [Lat. *apud*, Fr. *chez*, Ger. *bei*]; hence, even in the case of proper names, we can say, quite shortly, בֵּית לֶחֶם *at* (in) *Bethlehem*, 2 Sam. ii. 32, בֵּית אֵל *at Bethel*, Hos. xii. 5, Zech. vii. 2. But בֵּית and בְּבֵית can always be used interchangeably; cf. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 20 with ver. 24.[1]

(*c*) In statements which describe the *circumstances* or the *purpose* of the action; as, *they came* עֵדוּת לְיִשְׂרָאֵל *according to law* (which is construed as an indefinite word, in accordance with § 292) *for Israel, i.e.* in the manner that had been prescribed to Israel, Ps. cxxii. 4; *he offered for them* מִסְפַּר כֻּלָּם *number of them all, i.e.* as many sacrifices as there were of them, Job i. 5, Ex. xvi. 16 (hence also such an accusative is used at once, in the beginning of a sentence, as the predicate, Jer. ii. 28), though it is still possible to use also לְמִסְפַּר instead, Josh. iv. 5, 8, Judg. xxi. 23; עֲבֹדַת הַלְוִיִּם, according to the *work of the Levites, i.e.* as they wrought, Ex. xxxviii. 21, cf. 1 Chron. ix. 13. Hence a circumstantial clause (see § 303*c*) may also be very briefly subordinated in this way, as, *God gives it* שֵׁנָא *in sleep*, or *sleeping*, Ps. cxxvii. 2, cf. Deut. iv. 11; see more on this subject in § 341 below. In such cases, the accusative is almost always enough; a preposition, however, may also become necessary, as when it is required to begin a sentence thus: בְּרָעָה *with evil*, or *malevolently, has he led them out*, Ex. xxxii. 12, where the adjective alone, without the preposition, would be too feeble and unintelligible; or, as when, to the proposition, *God who forms it*, there is added (according to § 237*c*) לַהֲכִינָהּ *to make it subsist, i.e.* in reality, Jer. xxxiii. 2.

301*a*. 2. Such an adjunct in the proposition may refer chiefly to the subject, and thereby tell on the whole sentence; as, *two supported him* מִזֶּה אֶחָד וּמִזֶּה אֶחָד *on this side one, and on that side one, i.e.* on both sides, Ex. xvii. 12. In particular, a subject in the plural may at once be so individualized by

[1] On the other hand, אֶרֶץ for *in the land*, Deut. vi. 3, would be strange; hence the word must be understood in a different way; cf. the Septuagint.

adding אִישׁ, in the sense of *every* (see § 278*b*), that further amplifications follow the example of this singular; as, חִגְרוּ אִישׁ חַרְבּוֹ *gird* (ye) *on every one his sword!* And when reciprocal actions are in question [768], to this אִישׁ is subordinated אָחִיו *his brother*, or רֵעֵהוּ *his friend;* as, לֹא יִדְחָקוּן אִישׁ אָחִיו *they do not thrust every one his brother, i.e.* one another, Joel ii. 8; אָמְרוּ אִישׁ אֶל־רֵעֵהוּ *they said every one to his friend, i.e.* among themselves. This method of expressing our "*one another,*" "*each other*" (Gr. ἀλλήλων), has become so firmly established, that it is even applied to inanimate subjects, Ex. xxvi. 3.

b. This construction אִישׁ . . . אָחִיו (or אִישׁ . . . רֵעֵהוּ) has in this way preserved itself, as a smaller sentence within the larger, much more in its original perfection and independence in the Hebrew than in most other languages, which either always contract the two words into one, as the Sanskr. *anyônyâm* (where, however, the first member at least has always remained in the nominative) and the Ger. *einander* (one another), or even, after the two have thus coalesced, proceed to treat the word as a plural, and employ it afterwards only as a subordinated word (in an *oblique case*), like the Gr. ἀλλήλων and the Syr. ܚܕ̈ܕܐ (from חַד־חַד *one-one*). Even though it may be completely subordinated, it still remains in its full form; as, *I deliver them* אִישׁ בְּיַד רֵעֵהוּ *one into the other's hand, i.e.* into each other's power, Zech. xi. 6, vii. 9. But it is to be remarked that, with later writers, even the closer construction sometimes begins to appear, mostly in the subordination of the construct state; as, *do not devise* רָעַת אִישׁ אָחִיו *the evil of one* (against) *another*, Zech. vii. 10 (cf. also, on the other hand, the earlier form of construction in viii. 17); and Ezekiel, even more briefly still, once uses merely אִישׁ in this sense, i. 11, cf. ver. 9.

302*a*. 3. A number of larger or smaller secondary members may, in the character of dependent secondary propositions, be added to the main sentence, which is otherwise complete in itself; such an addition may be made at the very beginning, *e.g.* a specification of time, as in Gen. i. 1, Isa. vi. 1; or at the end, even in a sentence of considerable length, Isa. ix. 6; or it may be inserted into the body of the sentence itself, as in Ezra ii. 68. These adjuncts are really very loosely attached;

they are, however, mostly connected with the sentence proper by means of prepositions, or (less frequently) even by the mere accusative, without being themselves able to pass for independent propositions. Even whole circumstantial clauses (see § 306*c*) may be briefly attached in this way (cf. Dan. iii. 1 in Aramean); it will be better, however, not to enter on the explanation of the contracted circumstantial sentences, which would properly fall to be considered here, till later on (see § 341). To a proper noun may be appended, in quite a brief way, שְׁמוֹ *his name*, merely as an indication that the noun is to be regarded as a proper name; thus Job i. 1, Ezra v. 14.[1]

b. It is worth while observing how one or more words, which might originally be also independent, have gradually, through [769] the influence of the larger sentence, become mere secondary clauses, or even subsidiary particles. Thus, the words זֶה שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה no longer form a separate and independent proposition, *these are seventy years*, but, associated with another sentence, merely signify *these seventy years* [past] (see § 183*a* near the end), since pronouns generally, when, contrary to the original order of their arrangement (see § 293*a*), they precede the noun, readily become mere subordinate particles.

(*c*) *Imperfect and Abbreviated Members of Sentences.*

The Infinitive Construct in the Sentence.

303*a*. If, in a proposition standing quite alone, one of the two necessary constituent parts be wanting, such a sentence must be regarded as incomplete; but this may very possibly occur, for instance, in an exclamation (see § 327). The same remark holds true when the proposition merely consists of a subordinated word. Sometimes in ordinary language, as in impassioned speech, there is found nothing but an accusative referring to a verb, which, though certainly implied in the whole, is merely understood rather than expressed; as, הֲלֹא

[1] The latter passage is Aramean; but the correct Aramean for such an expression has been already given on p. 50, footnote 2. In exactly the same way, we find the *nâma* or *iti* attached to proper names in Sanskrit.

אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים *what!* have you *not* heard the *words?* Zech. vii. 7; should I drink *the blood of men?* 2 Sam. xxiii. 17 (in the parallel passage, 1 Chron. xi. 19, the ellipsis is unnecessarily supplied); cf. also Lam. i. 12, and the cases described on pp. 38, 39,[1] also § 329*a* below.

b. When a sentence is connected with something preceding, an idea which would otherwise require to be indicated may more readily be omitted, if it would merely consist of an unemphatic pronoun; this is because the reference to what is omitted lies in the very meaning of the whole, and the Hebrew, like the other ancient languages, does not, in this respect, require any superfluity of expression. Hence,—

(1.) The subject, though somewhat definite, may be omitted, when it can be made out otherwise from a preceding word; as, *in the image of God made He* (God) *him*, Gen. ix. 6, xiv. 1, 2, Esth. ii. 21;[2] such a subject may also become more distinctly indicated as the discourse proceeds, as in Isa. xxiii. 11. Or, there may be the total omission of a subject which is evident from what precedes, when a particle, placed at the head of the sentence, itself forms so strong an introduction to the proposition, that it can take the place of the one half of the sentence, while the predicate immediately follows; thus, with an interrogative particle, הֲטוֹבִים *are* (they, viz. the kingdoms previously mentioned) *better?* Amos vi. 2; or with a particle indicative of time, as, כִּי מִימִינִי *when* (He, *i.e.* God) is *at my right hand*, Ps. xvi. 8, Joel ii. 1, 2 Sam. xiv. 13; or with the more emphatic וְ (see § 345), as, וּמְבֹרָךְ לְעוֹלָם *then* (*i.e.* therefore, hence) it (viz. the house) is *blessed for ever* [770], 1 Chron. xvii. 27, 2 Sam. xiv. 14. Some later writers, however, who use the artificially brief style (see § 3*c*), go further in this respect than the writers of the best period would have ventured; they omit a subject which can be made out, from what has previously been stated, only in a very general form; as, כִּי לְיָמִים רַבִּים *because* (it is) *for many* (long) *days*, Dan. viii. 19, 26; or even one which can only be supplied orally in the

[1] With this, accordingly, we would need to compare a similar case in which the accusative is employed in Arabic; see Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* ii. p 217 f.

[2] Cf. the precisely similar usage in Syriac; Assemani's *Bibl. orient.* i. p. 407, 83.

language of the passing moment, as, לֹא עָלֶיךָ *not against thee* (have I any evil desire), 2 Chron. xxxv. 21, cf. xviii. 3.[1] Similarly,—

(2.) The *object* may be omitted, when it is easily inferred from the context; in most cases, it is evident from what has already been stated before, especially when only things are spoken of, as, *he saw and told* (what he had seen), Gen. ix. 22; still stronger instances occur in Amos vi. 12, Job vi. 7; לְהַחֲיוֹת *in order to preserve* (them, viz. the animals that had been spoken of) *alive*, Gen. vi. 20,—a construction which changes to the passive *in order to be preserved*, though the active infinitive is always preferred (see § 304), cf. Isa. vi. 13. Hence, also, in changing from one member of a sentence to another, a suffix, which was previously mentioned with the first, is readily omitted from the second, as Hab. i. 3, iii. 2. More rarely, the object is omitted under such conditions that the idea of it can be gathered only in a general way from what precedes; as, *thou bringest then* (what thou hast reaped) *and thus thy lord has bread*, 2 Sam. ix. 10. In negative sentences, לֹא, under such circumstances, evidently means *nothing*, as in Job v. 24.

304*a*. The *infinitive*[2] is a part of speech which includes in its idea a greater degree of incompleteness and deficiency (see §§ 237*a*, 240*a*); because, according as the meaning or the context demands, it can always stand for the [finite] verb, and yet it really contains less than this. Such is the case with the *infinitive absolute*, which, in accordance with its essential nature, cannot be dependent on a word in the construct state, or even a preposition; nor again can it stand

[1] In 2 Chron. xix. 6 also, we must in the same way understand עִמָּכֶם (which was the reading before the Septuagint translator) *and with you is He* (God): there is no need for reading עֲלֵיכֶם instead (see § 295*f*).

[2] [A very full discussion of this part of speech has lately been written by Adolf Koch (*Der semitische Infinitiv*, Stuttgart 1874). It may be of advantage to give the summary of his investigations in his own words (pp. 70, 71). 1. "The Semitic infinitive is really not an infinitive in the sense of the term as used in Greek, Latin, German [and English] grammar; for it was originally, and has remained to the present day, a true noun, which contains in itself all the properties of the noun, and is construed as such in the sentence. The most which can be admitted is, that this noun sometimes gives up its capacity for inflection, and becomes an adverb; but

itself in the construct state, or assume suffixes in any sense whatever; but it can merely subordinate a noun somewhat remotely (cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* ii. p. 140); see further, § 328*c*. But the noun which is subordinated to an *infinitive construct* may either be changed into the *subject*, if the finite verb were used, as, כִּשְׁמֹעַ הַמֶּלֶךְ *at the hearing of the king*, i.e. when the king heard; or into the *object*; as, עֲשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּט *to execute judgment*. When, then, the finite verb would only be put in the person which most readily suggests itself and is most indefinite (viz. the third), without any definite subject being further mentioned, the infinitive construct, as dependent merely on the form of the sentence, also stands without such [771] a completion. (Cf. the similar construction mentioned in § 200 [where it is shown that the participle (sing. or plur.) is often used impersonally; as, *one says*, people say, Ex. v. 16, Isa. xxi. 11].) The finite verb, in such a case, may require to be viewed as in the singular or plural, and relating to a definite person; as, כִּרְאֹת אֶת־הַנֶּזֶם *when* (he) *saw the ring*, Gen. xxiv. 30, 1 Kings xx. 12, vii. 47, and when the infinitive is used with לְ, 1 Sam. xxii. 13; also מֵרֹב עֲשׂוֹת *on account of giving much* milk, or, *because they* (viz. the animals mentioned) *give much* milk, Isa. vii. 22, where the word רֹב is used as described in § 286*e*; or the verb may need to be regarded as in the indefinite plural, בִּגְזֹז אֶת־צֹאנוֹ *when they were shearing* (גֹּזְזָיו) *his sheep*, 1 Sam. xxv. 2, Gen. ii. 4 (following the *Kethib*), xxv. 26, xxxiii. 10, Ex. ix. 16, xix. 13, 2 Sam. iii. 34, Ps. xlii. 4 (cf. ver. 11), lxvi. 10, cii. 22, Prov. xxv. 7, xxviii. 8, Job xiii. 9, xx. 4; בְּעֵת הָצֵר לוֹ *in the*

never in any case does it pass over into the verb-system, in the manner which characterizes the proper infinitive idea. 2. The Semitic *nomen actionis* expresses the abstract idea of being, acting, or suffering; and has been derived from the verb in the way in which verbal derivatives, with a concrete meaning, passed over into the abstract meaning. 3. This abstract verbal noun, through its derivation from the verb, has received the power of construction peculiar to the verb, so that it can subordinate another noun in the accusative, and attach to itself a subject in the nominative; while, on the other hand, it has no power whatever, in itself, of expressing any difference in tense, or in the kind of verb. 4. From the agreement in form among the different branches of the Semitic family of languages, it plainly follows that even the original Semitic language had already handed over the function of the abstract verbal noun to certain forms."]

time of causing grief to him, i.e. when others caused grief to him, when he felt himself distressed, 2 Chron. xxviii. 22, xxxi. 10, xxxiii. 12, 19. But the infinitive may also be used, poetically, (see a similar case in § 285*a*) without any preposition whatever; as, *their words are* אֱרֹב *to lie in wait, i.e.* that they are going to lie in wait, Prov. xii. 6. When the person is definite, and at the same time not in itself evident from the context alone, it must be marked, though merely by a suffix; this indication, however, is readily dropped again at once, when not indispensably necessary; as, *he sware* לְבִלְתִּי עָבְרִי וּלְבִלְתִּי בֹא *that I should not cross over, nor come,* Deut. iv. 21 (cf. § 322*a*). Some writers use the mere infinitive still more briefly, in such a way even that the first person can but remotely be inferred from the context, as the subject; Jer. xxvii. 10, cf. ver. 15, and Ezek. viii. 6 (where even the Septuagint translators stumbled).

b. Now, since the subordinated noun, if the finite verb were used [instead of the infinitive], may need to be regarded as the subject, or the object, it can be attached to the infinitive construct as to a word in the construct state, and this infinitive may further take suffixes. This attachment, however [of the noun], to the infinitive, is not so close and so necessary, inasmuch as it is not found in the case of the finite verb for which the infinitive is used; more especially does the noun often stand separately as the object, Isa. xi. 9, also with אֵת as the sign of the accusative (see § 277*d*). Moreover, the suffix may also be separated [from the infinitive] by this אֵת, and that, too, all the more readily if the infinitive stands for the third person of the finite verb without a more definite subject; thus, כִּרְאֹתוֹ *when he saw,* כִּרְאֹת אֹתוֹ *when* (he) *saw him,* 2 Sam. vi. 21; בְּלֶדֶת אֹתָם *when one bare them* (a common mode of expression derived from polygamy; see § 295*b*), Gen. xxv. 26; but the separation does not necessarily take place, as Prov. xxv. 7, Nah. ii. 4; hence also, אֵת is used after the infinitive of a passive form (according to § 295*b*), as, בְּהִמָּשַׁח אֹתוֹ *when one anointed it* (when it was anointed), Gen. xxi. 5, Lev. xiii. 55, 56, Num. vii. 10, Ezek. xvi. 4, 5. Cf. also §§ 307*a*, 319*b*, 326.

c. Similarly, though the passive infinitive is always a possible form in Hebrew, the active is far more frequently

employed, provided that the circumstances just described actually exist.[1] Thus, עֵת לָלֶדֶת *a time to bear, i.e.* when one is born, Eccles. iii. 2 [772]; *your days are near* לִטְבֹּחַ *to the slaughtering, i.e.* when they shall slay you, or, when ye shall be slain, Jer. xxv. 34.

305*a*. The pointed brevity generally characteristic of these [Semitic] languages is not a little favoured and intensified by the fact that they, and especially the Hebrew, have no case-endings like those employed by our modern languages, which are in this respect more flexible. Accordingly, nouns also, combined with prepositions, may, in indefinite discourse, serve either as the subject or the object, according to the connection of the sentence; as, אֵין כַּיהוָה *there is not* (one,—indefinitely) *like Jahveh; O that I had* כְּיַרְחֵי קֶדֶם *like the months of yore* *i.e.* days like those of former times (cf. § 221*a*); further, קַח מִזִּקְנֵי הָעָם *take of the elders of the people, i.e.* some of them (see § 282*e*), יָצְאוּ מִן־הָעָם *there went out* (some) *of the people* (see § 294*c*); or, as in the expression *there was not left* בָּהֶם עַד־אֶחָד *among them even to one, i.e.* not even one was left among them, Ex. xiv. 28 (cf. also the use of בְּ in Isa. x. 22). This is the most appropriate place to remark that a word like כָּמוֹהוּ *as he* (like him), may also, as the subject, signify *such a*, Joel ii. 2, Hag. ii. 3.[2] Cf. also the case presented in § 310*b*.

b. Moreover, the precision originally displayed, and still so strongly maintained by the Hebrew language, in the use which it makes of all the prepositions, but especially those denoting comparison, permits a word to remain in a quite brief form, when we would prefer to employ a subordinate sentence instead. On the cases in which כְּ is used, see § 221*a;* still stronger instances are those in which מִן occurs, as, *for the shining of the countenance* (*i.e.* in order that the face may shine) מִשֶּׁמֶן *more than oil* (*i.e.* more than oil makes it shine), or more briefly, *more than with oil*, Ps. civ. 15.

[1] The Sanskrit has no [special] passive infinitive at all [distinct in form from the active.]

[2] The Arabic presents a more decided instance of the same thing in مِثْلُ, which is used after the manner of the particles mentioned in § 286*g*.

FORMATION AND COMPLETION OF A SENTENCE, VIEWED WITH REFERENCE TO

(*B*) *The Connection of the Words in the Sentence.*
(*a*) *The Position, Relation, and Force of the Words.*

306*a*. In languages which, like the Sanskrit, have attained the highest perfection as regards fulness and variety of grammatical forms, the position and arrangement of words in a sentence, together with certain rules for gracefully rounding off a period, are entirely dependent on the meaning and colour of the discourse in each individual instance, and are very apt to be modified in accordance with the influence exerted by the spirit within, which seeks to express itself in words. The Semitic languages, on the contrary, in view of their less complete stock of grammatical forms (see §§ 5–7), have been forced to depend, in a substantial measure, on the position of the words in a sentence, as a factor in the expression of the sense; this shows itself not merely in the forms assumed by the many different kinds of word-groups (see §§ 207ff., 285), but here also, in the formation of a connected sentence. The most important words and word-groups are subject to a strict law [773], as regards their position in the sentence; and even, to a large extent, receive their full meaning only through that position. At the same time, however, it is specially to be observed that the Hebrew, in the position and order which it assigns to words in a sentence, exhibits far greater flexibility and ease than the Arabic (see § 6*b*), though the latter far surpasses the former in the formation of words. Thus, the Hebrew has, first of all, the arrangement of words in a sentence which is followed when the mind of the speaker is in its usual calm and unimpassioned state; herein it agrees with the Arabic in its most essential points. But secondly, it has also a mode of arranging sentences which is adopted when the speaker becomes more strongly excited, and departs from the usual dispassionate order; this forms a prominent peculiarity in the language, and is one which, as regards this vivacity and excitability,

cannot be imitated by any other member of the Semitic family whatever.

b. I. When we consider the ordinary calm style of discourse in connection with the inviolable laws which regulate the arrangements of words in it, we find,—

1. That the predicate, according to the simplest mode of arrangement, precedes the subject, because, in most cases, it contains the new and more important element which the speaker wishes to bring forward. The predicate precedes, when it consists of an adjective, as, צַדִּיק יְהוָה *righteous* (is) *Jahve.* But there is all the greater reason for the *verb,* as the predicate, being placed first, because, like all the persons of the verb, the third really already includes a subject within itself (see § 276*b*); hence, the definite noun is originally but a word placed in apposition to this third person, as, אָמַר יְהוָה *there spake Jahve.* When, however, as happens in rare instances, the predicate as well as the subject is a noun, the former always follows the latter, when both members of the sentence are, outwardly, of equal force; this order is observed for the express purpose of obviating all doubt regarding the subject; thus, יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים *Jahve thy God is* (cf. § 297*b*) *God,*—God absolutely, Deut. iv. 35, 39, cf. x. 17. And even under other circumstances also, the subject always precedes, when, looking at the meaning, there might be some doubt regarding it, as in Prov. xiv. 2 (both members of the verse).

c. But here, the mere order assigned to the words must also be at once made to serve in forming a new idea. From the arrangement just described, which is the simplest of all, is distinguished, in unimpassioned discourse, the mode in which a *descriptive* or *circumstantial clause*[1] is formed, by assigning a significant order to the words. By putting the *subject* first (contrary to what is stated in § *b*), and the predicate afterwards, the action, its development, and its progress do not come into the foreground, as in ordinary narrative discourse; but the *person* is placed first, by himself, in order to be immediately thereafter more fully described and depicted as he is; and the whole proposition, in a manner quite the

[1] [On the circumstantial clause, see also Driver on the Hebrew Tenses, Appendix I. p. 200 ff.]

opposite of the usual narrative style, presents us with a harmonious and placid picture of something continuous, permanent,—just as the speaker conceives it. This inverse arrangement of words for the purpose mentioned, is, accordingly, of the highest importance and significance throughout the whole language: it is substantially carried out [774] in the Arabic also, and is thus one of the most important peculiarities of the Semitic (see Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* ii. p. 168). Accordingly, the verb then stands mostly in the *participial form* (see § 168), because, in such a case, the action is, for the most part, regarded as still going on. Thus Ex. xii. 11, where the circumstance mentioned is even introduced by the words, *thus shall ye eat the Passover* מָתְנֵיכֶם חֲגֻרִים *your loins girded,* etc., Judg. xv. 2, 1 Sam. xii. 17, 2 Sam. iii. 34, 2 Kings xi. 5, Jer. vii. 17 f.; the passive participle is also used in narrative, Neh. xiii. 4; cf. further, § 168*c*. Hence עוֹד *still* (see § 262*c*), and אַיִן *there is not,* also יֵשׁ *there is* (though the last is very seldom used), suit very well for these sentences; Ex. iii. 2, v. 16, ix. 2. All this becomes of more importance in the construction of compound sentences (see §§ 341, 355), and even of a mere relative sentence; as, *they did not know* מָה אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה *what I was about to do,* Neh. ii. 16, cf. vers. 12, 19.

d. This arrangement becomes specially significant, if the participle which is placed in this order (see § 168*c*) serves likewise, as the *tense-form,* to indicate the time of the action just going on,—the *present* of the circumstance described; as, הִנֵּה אָחִיךָ מִתְנַחֵם *behold, thy brother is angry* with thee, Gen. xxvii. 42, Jer. xvi. 12; or the *future,* which the speaker regards in his own mind as already quite near, or at least as certainly coming, almost as present, as, אַתָּה מֵת *moriturus es,* Jer. xxviii. 16; הִנְנִי מֵבִיא *en me allaturum, jam allaturus sum,* Gen. vi. 17.[1] Equally possible, though more rarely found in a simple sentence, is the *preterite* of the circumstance described, in which the hearer, perhaps through some preceding words, is reminded that he must transfer himself, in thought, into some definite circumstance of past time, as in the description of a dream; הִנְנִי עֹמֵד *behold I* was (I thought, during the dream, that I was) *standing,* Gen. xli. 17; or in answer to the ques-

[1] Cf. *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissenschaften*, vi. p. 102.

tion which some one has asked, during a certain time, Jer. xxxviii. 26.

When the participle is thus used with the meaning of a *tense-form,* הִנֵּה *behold,* is placed before it merely for the purpose of giving more liveliness to the discourse; hence it is used especially when a new beginning is made. And though, in accordance with its original use, it readily subordinates the subject (see §§ 262*c*, 299*a*), whose suffix, accordingly, it combines with itself, when that subject is not more definitely indicated, it does not maintain this construction quite so rigorously as the corresponding Arabic إِنَّ, inasmuch as it is also found without the subject of its sentence, when this has already been given, in meaning, in what precedes; as, הִנֵּה יוֹצֵר *behold* He (viz. Jahve, who has just been mentioned) *formed,* Amos vii. 1, cf. ver. 7. But it is rare to find the subject following הִנֵּה only in some place or other farther on, as Amos vii. 4 (where, however, there is rather a mere superaddition of the subject [775], cf. ver. 1). It is also an innovation to say הִנֵּה אֲנִי לֹקֵחַ *behold, I take* (where הִנֵּה occupies more of an independent position), Ezek. xxxvii. 19, 21. But when הִנֵּה is not used, the participle, as a simple form for the *present* and the *immediate future,* may be put first, like the other tense-forms, as in Gen. xxxi. 20, Judg. xv. 11, Jer. xxiii. 16, xxv. 31, xliv. 15, Joel iv. 4, Amos vi. 8;[1] in this usage the Aramaic goes still farther.

e. As in other circumstantial clauses, however, so also, when הִנֵּה is used, the meaning may require the *perfect,* which is then subordinated as a second word (on the principles explained in § 284); thus, הִנְנִי יִסַּד, prop. *behold me having founded,* where the third person is used, as being the most general, Isa. xxviii. 16; with the same person [in both words] הִנְנוּ אָתָנוּ *behold, we are come,* Jer. iii. 22; and with הִנֵּה alone, placed more briefly before the perfect, as הִנֵּה רָאִיתִי, which, just like the Arab. قد رايت, gives the idea of the strong perfect,—*I have seen it!* Jer. vii. 11. If, however, the circumstantial

[1] A doubtful case is the rare construction עוֹדֶינָה תִּכְלֶינָה עֵינֵינוּ, prop. *our eyes are still pining,* Lam. iv. 17, where the imperfect is substituted for the participle (see § 136*c*). The *Qeri* עוֹדֵינוּ gives the somewhat different turn of meaning, *we are still of pining eyes.*

sentence has already been introduced by another word at the head of it, as הֲלֹא (see § 324*b*), the perfect may also be placed before, by itself, for the sake of brevity, Job iv. 21. When, therefore (as in later language), the perfect is further preceded by כְּבָר *long since, already,* for the purpose of giving prominence to the verb as a complete perfect, in the temporal sense, as in Eccles. ix. 7,[1] there is all the less need for the subject coming first.

Moreover, רְאֵה, like our *see, lo!* begins to be used interchangeably with this הִנֵּה, in such a way that it not merely takes the same meaning and position, but also, like an impersonal particle, neglects to distinguish gender and number, as in Deut. i. 8, xi. 26.

f. When the circumstantial clause has no verb, while the predicate itself has the appearance of a mere subordinate word (*i.e.* is introduced by a preposition), the latter rather likes to be placed first;[2] as, *In the mouth of the fool* is *a rod of pride,* Prov. xiv. 3. The reason is, that by this means the two parts of the sentence are distinguished from each other in a more palpable manner; because, under any other arrangement, the subordinate word might easily again have the force of a mere adjunct modifying the subject.

[776] 307*a*. 2. The *object,* according to the arrangement observed in most calm discourse, only follows the subject, which again, as has been shown, is placed after the verb; and it is indicated by the very position which is thus assigned to it; as, שָׁלַח דָּוִד מַלְאָכִים *David sent messengers,* 1 Sam. xxv. 14, Gen. xlii. 30. This order of arrangement is regularly observed in calm discourse, especially when the sentence is headed by a strong introductory word with which it is intimately connected; either, one of the stronger conjunctions may stand at the

[1] Exactly equivalent to this is قَدْ رَضِيَ, all the more because قَدْ also (as cognate with قَطّ *ever, always,* and like قَدْ, as well as the Ethiopic *tĕkă,*—the letters of the latter word being transposed) signifies *enough.* This word is itself found once in Hebrew under the form of קָט, Ezek. xvi. 47; but it is very frequently used in Talmudic, Neo-Syriac, and Sabian, and shortened into קָא.

[2] In Arabic, this has even come to be the universal rule; cf. also § 341*a*, below.

beginning, as כִּי *that*, or *because*, הִנֵּה *behold;* or a specification of time, or an emphatic word may be prefixed, Jer. xxiii. 27, Gen. i. 1, § 309; cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* ii. p. 164. If it be convenient to put the verb, agreeably to syntactical arrangement, in the infinitive construct, the same order is preserved,—nay, is still more necessary: the noun which, if the verb were finite, would be the subject, follows first, in such a way that the infinitive can be put in the construct form (as shown in § 304*a*); the object remains as such, even in its form of expression, and is placed last: thus, בִּשְׁמֹעַ הַמֶּלֶךְ *in the hearing of the king, i.e.* when the king heard; בְּשַׁחֵת יְהוָה אֶת־סְדֹם *in Jahve's destroying* (*i.e.* when Jahve destroyed) *Sodom*, Gen. xiii. 10, xxix. 13, Ezek. xxxiv. 12. Cf. however, § *b*, below.

When several accusatives are dependent on one verb (see § 282), the one which, in meaning, is the first,—considering, at least, the most natural order of the words,—is also put first in the order of expression; thus, הִשְׁכִּיחוּ אֶת־עַמִּי שְׁמִי *they have caused my people to forget my name*, Jer. xxiii. 27; לַמֵּדְנָה בְנוֹתֵיכֶם נֶהִי *teach* (ye mothers) *your daughters wailing*, Jer. ix. 19, cf. ver. 4, xii. 16, Ps. xxv. 9.

b. 3. Smaller words, and accessory specifications, however, are apt to intrude themselves everywhere between the more important constituents of the sentence, viz. the predicate and the subject,—or, when these two form one word, between the verb and the object; as, אֶתֵּן לְךָ הָאָרֶץ *I will give thee the land* מַה זֹּאת עָשִׂינוּ *what* (how) *have we done this?* Ex. xiv. 5. A smaller word may even intrude itself (contrary to what is stated in § *a*) between a construct infinitive and what is really the subject of that infinitive as a verb, which [subject] then fully reveals itself as such; this is because the connection of the inf. constr. with another word is not very close (see § 292*e*); as, בִּשְׁלֹחַ אֹתוֹ תַּרְתָּן *in Tartan's sending* (*i.e.* when Tartan sent) *him*, Isa. xx. 1, v. 24, Gen. iv. 15, Josh. xiv. 11, Prov. xxv. 8. Or, what is, in meaning, a more remote accusative, is attached in the form of a small suffix, or in some other way inserted as a small word at an earlier stage in the sentence; Deut. xxxi. 7, Jer. xxv. 15, Eccles. xii. 9. Moreover, the somewhat loose connection between a participle in the construct state and the word depending on it (see § 289*c*) may

be broken in the same way, at least in poetry; as, מַשְׁלִיכֵי בַיְאֹר חַכָּה *those who cast the hook into the river*, Isa. xix. 8. A similar but even stronger case of this kind presents itself in כֹּל (see § 289*a*); the strongest of all, however, is לְקוֹל תִּתּוֹ (instead of לְתִתּוֹ קוֹל), Jer. x. 13, where the peculiar arrangement is made with the view of rounding off the expression; the abnormal position of מְאֹד in Jer. xviii. 13 is also due merely to the desire for rounding off the period. In a similar way must be understood the insertion of a לוֹ immediately after וְ, as in Ps. vii. 14, 1 Sam. ii. 3, Isa. ix. 2; and, for a like reason also, the feeble הָיָה *fuit* is inserted in the body of the sentence rather than placed at the beginning, Job i. 1.

[777] *c.* But the latest writers go much further in thus freely rounding off sentences (as is done in Aramaic also, to a large extent): they insert the object at some intermediate stage, when the classic Hebrew would rather place it at the end, as in the infinitival expression, לְהָאִיר עֵינֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ *for our God's enlightening our eyes, i.e.* that our God may enlighten our eyes, Ezra ix. 8; and their insertions are, besides, so lengthy that earlier writers would scarcely form a sentence in such a way, 2 Chron. xxxi. 6, xxxv. 8, Ezra ii. 68, vii. 6, Esth. i. 15. The most important instance of a similar construction of sentences, found in an earlier narrator, 2 Sam. xvii. 27–29, is certainly of a different character. Even in early times, however, some poetic writers set the example of making bolder arrangements of words, as Job xix. 23, Ps. cxx. 7, cxli. 10 (but these cases properly belong only to § 331 ff.).[1]

308. Something may be thrown out at the beginning of a proposition in such a way that the discourse assumes its full and proper shape only in the course of the sentence, when a new turn comes in. This, however, in a simple sentence (see § 309), is a rather impassioned and excited style of discourse; as, Isa. ii. 18 (but the reading is uncertain here), Zech. ix. 11; and one must take care not to confound with this case those in which the change is more of a mere appearance than a reality; as, אֲנִי עִם לְבָבִי *I* (it is, *or* was) *in my heart, i.e.* simply *I thought*, but as a circumstantial clause (see § 306*c*), 1 Chron.

[1] See Ewald's *Beiträge*, i. p. 68; Ps. xc. 5b would also require to be rendered, *like the grass which is green in the morning.* But see the *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wiss.* v. p. 175.

xxviii. 2, cf. Ps. xli. 5, cxvi. 11, Isa. xxxviii. 10; or, as in the case from Jer. xxx. 6, explained on p. 69.

Care must also be taken not to regard the discourse as interrupted, when, in true Semitic fashion, a circumstantial clause is prefixed merely for the purpose of appending to it what properly forms the statement to be made; as, Prov. xxii. 15, Deut. xxvi. 5; on this subject, cf. further, § 341*c*.

309*a*. II. In quite a different way, contrary to this calm order just described, the discourse may assign greater prominence to a single idea in the sentence, either (*a*) because of the emphasis which the speaker, for any reason, lays on it, or (*b*) for the purpose of indicating a contrast (cf. § 354*a*); the sentence thereby receives the tinge of juvenile restlessness and vivacity which still clings firmly to the Hebrew, especially in verse. The degree, however, in which this stronger colouring of the discourse is expressed, varies partly in accordance with the tone of the discourse itself in each individual instance, and partly in accordance with the kind of words employed. Thus,—

1. When slight emphasis is to be indicated, it is sufficient to put the subject or the object first, contrary to the order usually followed in calm discourse; the verb then almost always comes in between (see § 307*b*); as, יָדֵינוּ לֹא שָׁפְכוּ דָם OUR *hands did not shed blood,* OUR *eyes saw it not,* Deut. xxi. 7; אֲבָנִים שָׁחֲקוּ מַיִם (even) *stones* [778] *water wears away,* Job xiv. 19. Rare and more poetic are the arrangements, *object, subject, verb,* 2 Kings v. 13; *subject, object, verb,* Isa. xiii. 18, Zech. x. 2, and with greater emphasis in prose, 2 Chron. xxiii. 10 [?]; on the other hand, the very unusual arrangement, *verb, object, subject,* gives greater prominence to the member delayed to the very end, THY MOUTH *declares thy guilt!* Ps. xxxiv. 22, Job xv. 5. Moreover, a substantive which is subordinated for the purpose of giving more detailed description (see § 288*c*), may, at least in the more lofty style, precede its adjective, for the sake of emphasis; as in the exclamation, תְּשֻׁאוֹת מְלֵאָה (O thou city) *filled with noises!* Isa. xxii. 2.

A noun prefixed in this way often receives great emphasis by being repeated in the form of its personal pronoun; as, בִּרְכַּת יְהוָה הִיא תַעֲשִׁיר *the blessing of Jahve,—it* (thát) *enriches,* Prov. x. 22, 24; אֶת־יְהוָה אֹתוֹ תַקְדִּישׁוּ *Jahve,—Him shall ye*

sanctify! Isa. viii. 14. A somewhat milder case is presented when the word is repeated merely in the usual order, and without any additional emphasis, by its personal pronoun (or by itself, when pretty long words intervene); as, וְאֶת־הָעָם הֶעֱבִיר אֹתוֹ *but the people,—he led them over,* Gen. xlvii. 21, 1 Sam. xxv. 29, 2 Kings ix. 27, Neh. ix. 29. [The pronoun itself may be repeated, as in 1 Sam. ix. 13.] Something similar appears in the case of words combined with prepositions, Gen. ii. 17.

b. The leading noun, concerning which something is to be predicated, often stands abruptly at the beginning of the sentence; the speaker first of all places it by itself, as the chief word for the time being, and afterwards sees he is obliged to refer to it, through its pronominal suffix, in the place to which it would be assigned by the rules of syntax; as, יְהוָה בַּשָּׁמַיִם כִּסְאוֹ *Jahve,—in heaven* (not on earth) *is His throne,* Ps. xi. 4; נָהָר פְּלָגָיו *a river,—its brooks, i.e.* the brooks of a river, as we can say, putting the genitive first, Ps. xlvi. 5, cf. Nah. i. 4, 2 Kings x. 29, Gen. xvii. 4, 1 Chron. xxii. 7, xxviii. 2, Zech. ix. 11.

It is very seldom that such a noun remains without being resumed in this way, when the following proposition also gives a complete meaning by itself, so that the construction is easily perceived from the context. This, however, is found only (*a*) where the discourse becomes exceedingly strained; as, *that day,—far off is the time! i.e.* its appointed time, Mic. vii. 11; *your answers* (as regards them, I must briefly say—) *the remainder is deceit!* Job xxi. 34b; (*b*) after the conjunction וְ (which, in a certain respect, completes the reference), Ps. cxv. 7;[1] see § 348*a*. The case is different when the discourse, as it were, corrects and defines itself; thus, *them,—their princes,* Ps. lxxxiii. 12; cf. the similar case in § 293*c*.

On the emphasis similarly produced by prefixing אִישׁ, in the sense of *every one*, see § 301*b*.

[779] *c.* A special way in which prominence is given to a noun of considerable importance in a sentence is, to refer to it first merely through its pronoun, and then actually to mention

[1] Rare, and more in the Aramaic style, is the expression הֵמָּה יִסַּד *them he founded* (appointed), 1 Chron. ix. 22, as if the prefixed הֵמָּה could likewise (contrary to § 277*d*) signify the accusative; but the construction is similar to that which is followed in the cases mentioned on p. 70.

it only after such preparation. This mode of expression is, among all the Semitic languages, quite common only in the Aramaic, which by this means (1) distinguishes nouns which are of considerable importance in themselves, hence those which have a strong reference to persons (see § 277*d*), and (2) in other cases obtains an expression for a pronoun of identity; as, *in it, the time, i.e.* in the same time (which latter construction belongs to § 314). In Hebrew, this mode of expression is very rare in prose, and in the older writings generally, as, *they saw him, the boy,* Ex. ii. 6, Josh. i. 2, Isa. xvii. 6, Job xxix. 3;[1] also with the infinitive, as, *he was afraid* מִמֶּנּוּ לִמְרֹד of *that,* (viz.) *to rebel,* Josh. xxii. 29 (see § 329*a*); it is found more in certain writings where language of a popular cast is used, as, *he seeks it* [viz.] *correction,* Prov. xiii. 24, cf. v. 22, נַפְשׁוֹ עָצֵל *his soul* [viz. that *of*] *the sluggard* (*i.e.* as is said in German, *des Faulen Seele* [Eng. *the sluggard's soul*], the more important word being placed first), where there is likewise added afterwards, very briefly, without any further mark of subordination, the noun which serves as a genitive in meaning, Prov. xiii. 4, xiv. 13, xxii. 11. It is also expressed in a more diffuse way, and more in the Aramean style, thus: מִטָּתוֹ שֶׁלִּשְׁלֹמֹה *his bed, Solomon's* (see § 292*d*), *i.e.* as we might say in like manner, *Solomon, his bed* (Solomon's bed), Cant. iii. 7. The remaining instances of such a mode of expression are from later writings, Jer. ix. 14, xxvii. 8, 1 Kings xiv. 12 (where בְּבֹאָה, in accordance with § 247*d* [Mappiq being omitted from the ה, as also in 2 Kings viii. 6, Jer. xliv. 19, etc.], is to be taken as בְּבֹאָהּ, and referred to הָעִיר *the city,* which is the third word further on), Eccles. ii. 21, iv. 10, 2 Chron. xxv. 10, xxvi. 14, Ezra iii. 12, ix. 1.[2]

When, on the contrary, instead of the noun, which is not mentioned at all, nothing but a pronoun is used, because the speaker thinks the former must be presupposed from a consideration of the context,—as in the beginning of the discourse, Isa. viii. 21, 23, xiii. 2, or during the course of it, Prov. xii. 6, xxviii. 2, Isa. xvii. 5b, or in such a way that it is repeated in the following member of the discourse, Ps. xxix. 6,—this is

[1] This, certainly, is the only case found in the Book of Job; but, in other older writers also (*e.g.* Isaiah), this mode of expression is rare.

[2] In this passage we must read וּמִתֹּעֲבֹתֵיהֶם; cf. ver. 11.

to be regarded as merely accidental; and the whole can be understood only from a consideration of the circumstances in each particular instance.

310*a*. A further peculiarity, in connection with the present subject, is the use of לְ for the purpose of giving prominence to a noun in the sentence. This prepositional particle, when it is not so much connected with a word somewhat closely attached to the sentence, as rather joined with one which stands freely in it, has the peculiar power of indicating a brief reference to something not to be overlooked, a consideration of the separate parts, or even a rapid and compendious survey of the whole, like our expressions, *with reference to* . . ., *as regards* . . ., Lat. *quoad*. But, while these expressions are extremely prolix, and so far not at all to be compared to the use of לְ,[1] the latter gives [780] this meaning only in a very quiet and unobtrusive manner, in a way, too, that, in modern languages, scarcely admits of being rendered by words, but rather at most by the tone of voice, though it is still perceptible. Thus, we find it even so early as in the ancient language of the Decalogue, where, at the end of a proposition already complete in itself, it briefly states, as a further remark, the special respect in which the truth is to be considered; לְשֹׂנְאָי ,לְאֹהֲבַי *as regards those who love me, . . . who hate me*, Ex. xx. 5 f.; cf. the passage of equal antiquity[2] found in Josh. xvii. 16 f., 1 Kings vi. 5, Deut. xxxiv. 11 f. But לְ may also be equally well used in this way at the beginning of a sentence; thus, לְשָׂרִים *as regards the princes*, an expression which is just the same as when we say, with somewhat stronger emphasis, *the princes* . . . Isa. xxxii. 1, Ps. xvi. 3, xvii. 4, Num. xviii. 8: regarding this particle, however, joined with a noun which is indefinite in meaning, see § *b*, below. From such a beginning, לְ comes to be used (of course in some later writings, particularly the Books of the Chronicles) much more frequently than the older writers allowed themselves to do, so that it even occurs after וְ *and;* the expression לְכֹל *as regards everything* (even all) is an especial favourite, when the object intended is to give a brief summary of all that has been specified, almost in the same way as if we

[1] [See Giesebrecht on the Hebrew preposition Lamed, p. 111.]
[2] [See note 2, at foot of p. 32.]

wanted to say, in explanation, *I mean;* cf. Gen. ix. 10, xxiii. 10, Ex. xiv. 28, Lev. xi. 42, 1 Chron. xiii. 1, xxviii. 1, 21, 2 Chron. v. 12, vii. 21 (but לְ is wanting in the parallel passage, 1 Kings ix. 8), xxviii. 15, xxxiii. 8 (so also 2 Kings xxi. 8), Ezra i. 5, vii. 28, Jer. xix. 13, xlii. 8, 21. But the expression is frequently found under other circumstances also, and is then even several times repeated, Lev. vii. 26, 1 Chron. xxi. 9, xxvi. 26, xxix. 6, 2 Chron. xxvi. 14, Neh. ix. 32, Jer. i. 18, cf. 1 Kings vii. 12: it is even found, besides, after the simple *and*, with objects preceding, as in 1 Kings i. 9. It is, however, evident from what has been stated that even this לְ has always its limits, and never, for instance, can indicate the simple subject, or the simple predicate; hence, it is not admissible in such cases as Ps. lxxxix. 19 or Jer. xxx. 12.

b. Quite different, therefore, from what has been described, is the very rare case in which לְ, before the subject, means *even* (see §§ 217*c*, 219*c*), לְכֶלֶב חַי הוּא טֹב *even a living dog is better* than the dead lion, Eccles. ix. 4.

c. Generally, however, in discourse which is any way animated, a small word, which involuntarily expresses this excitement, likes to be placed at the beginning of the sentence; thus, הֲלוֹא *yes!* [Lat. *nonne*] (see § 324*b*); כִּי, which is a weaker *yes* (see § 330*b*), as 1 Sam. xxii. 21; or, when there is a reference to the future, or the present, and the reason of the matter, הֵן or הִנֵּה *behold!* Here, also, the Arabic, with its invariable إِنَّ, is much more uniform.

311*a.* 2. The greatest emphasis, certainly, is produced by the repetition of the word itself; but this, the strongest means, is more frequently employed, and more necessary, only in cases where the emphasis can be indicated [781] in no other way. In accordance with the circumstances of the different kinds of words, this repetition takes place only in the following cases:—

(1.) With the *pronoun;* because this part of speech is apt to be so abbreviated that it cannot receive prominence merely in virtue of the position assigned to it. Thus (*a*) emphasis on the person of the verb is indicated by repeating anew the personal pronoun; as, וָאִמָּלְטָה רַק אֲנִי *and I only am escaped,*

Job i. 15. [The separate pronoun is often placed *first* in the proposition, as in Josh. xxiv. 27, *it* (the stone) *has heard:* this is especially the case when a contrast is drawn, as 2 Chron. xii. 5.] It is only later writers, especially the author of Ecclesiastes [see footnote, p. 21], who, when there is no emphasis intended, and merely for the sake of clearness in a style of discourse which was gradually becoming more full in expression, write the separate personal pronouns along with the persons of the verb. It is, further, only אֲנִי *I*, that first begins to be joined in this way with the verb (see it, *e.g.*, already in Ps. xxxix. 11, lxxxii. 6), and especially prefixed, when no great emphasis is intended.[1] Moreover, (*b*) in the case of a pronominal suffix which is attached to a noun, and which, as being very much abbreviated, is quite unemphatic, and yet cannot be separated from its noun and placed in front, strong emphasis is indicated by adding the full form of the personal pronoun; as, נַפְשׁוֹ הוּא *his soul, his,* i.e. *his own soul,* Mic. vii. 3, Num. xiv. 32, Neh. v. 2; בִּי אֲנִי *in* ME, 1 Sam. xxv. 24: this is also particularly the case with particles requiring emphasis, as, בְּפִיו גַּם הוּא *in* HIS *mouth also,* 2 Sam. xvii. 5, Prov. xxiii. 15, xxviii. 10 (contrary to the accents), Hos. xiii. 2, Ps. ix. 7, 1 Kings xxi. 19, Jer. xxv. 14, xxvii. 7 [the separate pronoun may even be placed first in the proposition, as Josh. xxiii. 9]. The repetition of the pronoun in the dative is rarer, and more in the Aramaic style; אֹיְבַי לִי *mine own enemies,* Ps. xxvii. 2, or even כַּרְמִי שֶׁלִּי *mine own vineyard,* Cant. i. 6 (see §§ 292*b*, 181*b*). An affix to a verb, however, is seldom repeated in this way (only with גַּם, and אַף, placed after, Gen. xxvii. 34, Prov. xxii. 19), because it can easily be separated and *prefixed* (see § 277*d*); equally rare is it to find a pronoun that has been broken off placed in front; as, גַּם אֲנִי יִקְרֵנִי *it will happen to* ME *also,* Eccles. ii. 15, 2 Chron. xxviii. 10, Gen. xlix. 8.

b. A noun or adjective may already be so distinctly marked out, by its mere position in the sentence, that it is at most repeated once, in very highly impassioned discourse, Deut.

[1] Evidently because the 1st pers. sing. of the perfect (see § 190*d*), on account of the dull and indistinct sound at its close, might easily be mistaken for the second; and also because the *I* most prefers a prominent place.

xvi. 20, Gen. xiv. 10, Eccles. vii. 24; double repetition is quite unusual, Jer. xxii. 29, Ezek. xxi. 32, though found in Isa. vi. 3 for a special reason. But to repeat a verb in this way seems too barbarous, just because it is already and really in itself the leading word in the discourse; and though even indeclinable words which were originally nouns may become more emphatic by repetition, because their position in the sentence is less free, yet, even in their case also, it is observed that a certain multiplicity seeks expression for itself in the repetition; as מְאֹד *very*, is repeated only in the expression בִּמְאֹד מְאֹד [782] (see § 110*a*), which is equivalent to our *very much*, and as יַעַן *because*, is repeated in יַעַן וּבְיַעַן *because and because*, Lev. xxvi. 43.

312*a*. 3. Since the verb, in unimpassioned discourse, already in its own right stands at the head of the sentence (see § 306*b*), and therefore cannot be marked out by its position as emphatic, it is repeated for the sake of emphasis, not, however, in the crude manner which is distasteful to the language (see § 311*b*), but in such a way that it, first of all, stands at the beginning merely in the form of the infinitive absolute (see § 240),—since the verb receives great force by being placed in this way at the head of the sentence (see § 328*c*),—and then is explained immediately afterwards in a smoother form, and in the way in which, apart from this emphasis, it would stand in the discourse.[1] Thus there is formed a mode of expression which continues to retain almost its original juvenile and popular form, and for that very reason is as intensely characteristic of the Hebrew language as it is of frequent use in it,—one, too, which really only renders prominent the emphasis resting on the verb among the other ideas in the sentence: in German [and English] popular language there is a similar idiom; as, *speak he did not*. The *emphasis* of the action, however, is very variously exhibited. It may be shown (*a*) in an antithesis to a preceding action, and thus particularly after כִּי in the sense of *but* [after a negative, like the Ger. *sondern* after *nicht*]; as, *thou shalt not give it to me, but* קָנֹה אֶקְנֶה *I will* BUY *it*, 2 Sam.

[1] [See an excellent treatise on this subject by A. Rieder (*Die Verbindung des Infinitivus absolutus mit dem Verbum finitum desselben Stammes*, Leipzig 1872), especially chap. iv.]

xxiv. 24; also without this particle, Ezek. xvi. 4: hence, it helps to express our *but* [Ger. *abèr*] when the antithesis (as is usually the case) refers to what precedes [and modifies the positive statement there made], as in Judg. i. 28 [*they put the Canaanites to tribute, but did not utterly drive them out*]; but it is also our [concessive] *certainly, indeed* [Ger. *zwar;* Gr. μέν followed by δέ] when the antithesis refers to what follows, as in Ps. cxviii. 13, 18; both cases are exemplified together in Ps. cxxvi. 6. (*b*) In limitations, frequently after אַךְ and רַק *only;* as, *he had only* GONE OUT (nothing more than merely this), Gen. xxvii. 30, xliv. 28, Judg. vii. 19; or even after the simple וְ *and*, when the sense requires such a restriction, Amos iii. 5: hence also, it is very often used when conditions are laid down, particularly with the one which is somewhat strongly opposed to another possible condition; as, אִם הַגֵּד תַּגִּידוּ *if ye* TELL *it*, Judg. xiv. 12, Ex. xix. 5. (*c*) Often in interrogative sentences, when it is just the action that forms the most important element in the question; as, הֲמָלֹךְ תִּמְלֹךְ *wilt thou* (actually) REIGN? Gen. xxxvii. 8. Generally (*d*) when an action is stated as quite certain; thus, *I know that* מָלֹךְ תִּמְלֹךְ *thou shalt* [assuredly] *be king*, 1 Sam. xxiv. 21, Job xxvii. 22, Amos v. 5, and of past things, Joel i. 7, Jer. xx. 15; also of fancies which are firmly believed; as, *I thought* יָצֹא יֵצֵא *he will certainly go out*, 2 Kings v. 11 (on Ps. l. 21, cf. § 240*c*); further, in the beginning of a narrative, with a certain amount of emphasis on the precise thing which the narrator wishes to describe as actually seen by him, רָאוֹ רָאִינוּ *we have* SEEN, Gen. xxvi. 28; and hence also (what is very remarkable) after the subject of a circumstantial clause (see § 306*c*–*e*), in order to mark the perfect as an actual preterite (where in Arabic قَدْ would stand before the perfect), Num. xii. 14. Finally, also (*e*) very often with solemn commands or threatenings [783], a mode of expression for which even the mere infinitive absolute is frequently left as sufficient (see § 328*c*); as, יָדֹעַ תֵּדַע *thou must* KNOW, Gen. xv. 13, Amos vii. 17, Zech. xi. 17.

The *participle*, active as well as intransitive, may also receive emphatic prominence like the finite verb, Judg. xi. 25. And, of course, a somewhat impassioned expression of this

kind is more frequently met with in lively discourse than in historical narrative.[1]

b. The infinitive, however, almost always stands at the beginning of the sentence (like the same form when used alone, see § 328), or at least the continuity of the discourse has previously been broken; hence,—

1. No *negation* can come before the infinitive (in the same way as it cannot be used in the case described in § 328): it does not come in until immediately before the following finite verb, where, generally, everything is more exactly specified; as, הָמֵת לֹא נְמִיתֶךָ *we will not* KILL *thee*, Judg. xv. 13. (Very rare exceptions occur in Gen. iii. 4,—where, however, the construction may be defended on the ground of the corresponding passage ii. 17,—Ps. xlix. 8, and 2 Kings viii. 10 according to the *Kethib*, though not according to the better rendering.)

2. The infinitive, since its primary function is merely to give prominence to the action, may stand in the Qal, if it is followed by the more precise expression (*e.g.* the passive), with the rest of the closer specification in the finite verb; as, מוֹת יוּמַת *he is to be* KILLED! Thus, we often find such an expression as טָרֹף טֹרַף, Gen. xxxvii. 33, Prov. xi. 15, Job vi. 2; but it is seldom that a similar verbal form [conjugation], with the same meaning, is used in the infinitive, *e.g.* Hophal with Niphal, 2 Kings iii. 23. It is rare also to find a weak root of similar form, and which may bear the same meaning (cf. § 112 ff.), used in this way; yet, on account of their similarity in sound (see § 240*c*), the infinitive of a verb פ"א, especially, may easily stand before the imperfect of a verb ע"ו; as, אָסֹף אָסֵף *I will utterly take away*, Zeph. i. 2, Jer. viii. 13, Isa. xxviii. 28. On the other hand, the infinitive absolute, when *placed after* its finite verb, must regulate itself much more strictly in accordance with the latter (see § 280): it is very

[1] Hence also, in Hellenistic writings and in the New Testament, nothing shows their Hebrew colouring so much as the imitation of this in the Greek. [See Winer's *Grammar of the N. T. Diction*, Moulton's edition, §§ iii., iv., xxviii.] This colouring, however, often presents itself in Syriac also (*e.g.* Xystos' *Proverbs*), and in Neo-Syriac,—see *Amer. Orient. Journal*, v. p. 167 f.; in Lithuanian (Schleicher, p. 313 f.), in Dyak (Hardeland, p. 125), in Akra (see J. Zimmermann's *Gram. Sketch of the Akra Language*, i. p. 124), in Kabyl (see the work of Hanoteau, p. 204 f., who, however, does not understand it).

rare, in such a case, to find Qal after Hiphil, Gen. xlvi. 4, Isa. xxxi. 5.

c. Not to be confounded with this mode of placing the absolute infinitive, and the meaning attached to it, is the rare case in which it is put before its finite verb with the meaning described in § 280, partly because a preceding verb is continued in that way, Isa. iii. 16, and partly also for the purpose of thereby laying a certain emphasis on the verb, 2 Sam. xxiii. 7, Hos. iv. 18, Amos ix. 8, Lam. v. 22: in this case, even the negative may be put first, Amos ix. 8. But here also, just as in the cases described under § 280, a new infinitive absolute may be superadded, Ps. cxxvi. 6.

[784] *d.* When, considering the connection of the words in the sentence, the emphasis, which the meaning of the whole discourse requires to be laid on the verb, cannot be at once expressed by prefixing the absolute infinitive, it may also, of course, be brought out in a small clause farther on by such an infinitive, together with, perhaps, another weaker word from the same root, as in Isa. xxix. 14. This, however, is a rare case, which, when the syntax is considered, leads us back to § 280*a*. Equally rare is it to find both constructions meeting round the same verb; in such a case, however, instead of the usual infinitive (in accordance with § 293*a*), a somewhat different form is preferred for the second occurrence, as in Isa. xxii. 17 f., where the infin. abs. after the verb is twice used to express the full completion of the action; while, the third time, there is further added this special indication of emphasis: *yes, roll will he,—roll thee up!*[1]

313*a*. From such rhetorical repetition of a word we must carefully distinguish those cases in which the repetition must serve to express a *pure mental concept;* because, considering the stage it has reached in the history of its development, the language could not express an idea of the kind in a briefer and clearer way. Thus, repetition may express,—

(1.) The idea of a continual progress from one to several,—the constant duration and indefinite continuation of the same thing; as, בַּדֶּרֶךְ בַּדֶּרֶךְ *on the way, on the way, i.e.* always (advancing) on the way, Deut. ii. 27, Judg. v. 7, 22; שָׁנָה שָׁנָה

[1] After צָנוֹף in front, צְנֵפָה is used behind; see § 166*a*.

year, year, i.e. yearly, every year, Deut. xiv. 22; שַׁבַּת שַׁבַּת *every Sabbath* (see § 339*a*); בֶּאֱרוֹת בֶּאֱרוֹת *pits, pits, i.e.* nothing but pits, Gen. xiv. 10, Joel iv. 14, 2 Chron. xxxi. 6; also with adverbs, as, מַעְלָה מַעְלָה *upwards, upwards, i.e.* always upwards, Deut. xxviii. 43; מְעַט מְעַט *little, little, i.e.* gradually, Ex. xxiii. 30; especially in the case of numbers, when the same one is to be referred several times to individual objects, because the Hebrew has no special form for *distributives*, as, שִׁבְעָה שִׁבְעָה, Gen. vii. 2, or שִׁבְעָה וְשִׁבְעָה, Zech. iv. 2, *seven by seven*, by sevens, also חֲמֵשֶׁת חֲמֵשֶׁת *by fives*, repeated in the construct state, Num. iii. 47; but also without a numeral, as, מַטֶּה מַטֶּה *rod, rod, i.e.* always a rod, a rod each, Num. xvii. 17; גּוֹי גּוֹי *nation, nation, i.e.* every single nation, 2 Kings xvii. 29,[1] and in the plural מִשְׁפָּחוֹת מִשְׁפָּחוֹת each of the families, Zech. xii. 14. A *verb* is seldom fully repeated in such a case as this, Judg. v. 7, Isa. x. 1, Jer. x. 25 (where it is better [785] to divide the members), because the idea of continuance is stamped on it in another and more pleasant fashion (see § 280*b*). On the other hand, however, the Hebrew, in accordance with its ancient simplicity of style, sometimes repeats whole series of words and sentences, merely for the purpose of representing the uninterrupted continuation of a thing or an action, Ex. xxviii. 34, Num. vii. 11, xvii. 21 (cf. the briefer mode of statement in ver. 18), and, in more poetic passages, Hos. viii. 11, Eccles. iv. 1, Ezek. i. 20 f., xvi. 6, Isa. liii. 7.[2] In the same way also, in lengthy narratives, it does not grow weary of constantly repeating the same words, with few alterations in each instance, as Num. vii., Zech. xii. 12–14. It is observed, how-

[1] Cf. also Mark vi. 39 f. A briefer mode of expression is, to add merely אֶחָד *one, i.e.* always one, one each, as Num. xvii. 18, cf. vers. 17 and 28; but to this word, or כֹּל, corresponds the more definite אָחֻז, prop. ἐχόμενος, *continuing, going on, constantly*, which therefore, along with the simple numeral. is equivalent to *always* [Ger. *je*]; also in the Book of Origins [see footnote, p. 32], Num. xxxi. 30, 47, 1 Chron. xxiv. 6; here, in ver. 6b, instead of the numeral already known, אָחֻז itself is repeated (for it is perhaps unnecessary to take אֶחָד as the correct reading).

[2] Compare the strongest form of such a mode of expression in "they dwelt there, and dwelt there, and dwelt there," and similar instances in Grey's *Polynesian Mythology* (1855), pp. 38, 145, 184, 237: [also, the narrative style employed by children; thus, *he ran, and ran, and ran, i.e.* went on running].

ever, that the language already begins to place כֹּל, *i.e. ever, always,* along with two words repeated in this way; as, Num. xvii. 28, Ps. xlv. 18, Esth. ii. 11, iii. 14, iv. 3, viii. 11, compared with i. 22, ii. 12, iii. 12, and frequently thus in the Book of Daniel and the Chronicles (cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 14–18).[1] Accordingly, as one of the nouns might, in fact, be omitted when כֹּל is used, so there is already an actual beginning made in the employment of יוֹם for *daily,* while the older יוֹם יוֹם, Jer. vii. 25, and יוֹמָם, Ezek. xxx. 16, Ps. xiii. 3,[2] are still retained in use.

b. (2.) Repetition serves to express *doubleness, variety,* hence also falseness, duplicity; but in this case וְ *and* must always intervene; as, אֶבֶן וָאֶבֶן *stone and stone, i.e.* different weights, Deut. xxv. 13; לֵב וָלֵב *heart and heart, i.e.* false heart, Ps. xii. 3; cf. § 360*c*. A somewhat different idea is conveyed by מִי וָמִי *who and who? i.e.* who all, individually? Ex. x. 8.

c. (3.) Repetition may also express the idea of a *high,* or the *highest degree;* and this becomes of special importance, inasmuch as the Hebrew has no proper adjectival forms for indicating comparison (see § 162*b*). This language, therefore, when it can conveniently do so, forms the idea of the highest degree briefly, in such a way that, by means of the construct state, the individual is taken from among the subordinated whole, and made distinctly prominent: this is effected partly (*a*) by juxtaposition of the same noun, as, קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים *the sanctuary of sanctuaries, i.e.* the holiest of all; עֶבֶד עֲבָדִים *slave of slaves, i.e.* meanest slave, Gen. ix. 25, Hos. x. 15, cf. Jer. vi. 28; partly (*b*) by an adjective of a peculiar kind being raised into distinct prominence from the following plural or collective noun (see §§ 286*a*, 293*c*), as, קְטֹן בָּנָיו *the little one* (least) *of his sons,* 2 Chron. xxi. 17; זִקְנֵי הָעָם *the elders of the people,* Mic. vii. 4,[3] Gen. xxiv. 2, 1 Sam. ix. 21 [786], Job xxviii. 6; רָעֵי גוֹיִם *wicked* (the worst) *nations,* Ezek. vii. 24; חַכְמֵי יֹעֲצֵי פַרְעֹה *the wise ones of the counsellors* (*i.e.* the wisest

[1] Compare M. Berachoth, vi. 6, ix. 5; Seder Olam, c. ii. 4.

[2] That וָלָיְלָה has dropped out from this latter passage seems too bold a conjecture.

[3] This expression is all the more easily explained, because הַזְּקֵנִים, again taken by itself, might signify *the elders* [Ger. *die Aelteste*, lit. *the oldest* men in the community], Gr. *οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*; Lat. *seniores;* the course followed in this case is the same as we saw in § 296*b*.

counsellors) *of Pharaoh,* Isa. xix. 11, Judg. v. 20, cf. Ps. xxxv. 16, xlv. 13, Zech. xi. 7, 11, 1 Sam. xvii. 40, Job xxx. 6, xli. 22, Deut. xxxiii. 19, Esth. ii. 9. The adjective may also be regarded as a neuter; thus, פְּרִיץ חַיּוֹת *the strong* (strongest) *of beasts,* Isa. xxxv. 9. Or the whole may be more loosely construed with the adjective by means of בְּ *in among;* as, הַיָּפָה בַּנָּשִׁים *the beautiful among the women,* i.e. *the most beautiful woman,* Cant. i. 5, Amos ii. 16, Judg. vi. 15,—to say nothing of possible circumlocutions like מִבְחַר עֲמָקַיִךְ *the choice of thy valleys, i.e.* thy best valleys, Isa. xxii. 7. If the whole is mentioned elsewhere, or is evident from the context, it is sufficient, in the case of general ideas like *great, good, near,* to give prominence to the adjective by means of the article; as, *Jesse had eight sons, and David was* הַקָּטָן *the little one,* where, from the comparison drawn, and the context, the meaning plainly is *the least* (or, if there be no more than two between which the choice can be made, *the less*), 1 Sam. xvii. 12–14, ix. 21, Gen. i. 16, xix. 38, xxix. 16, Joel iv. 5, Deut. xxi. 3; הָרַבִּים *the most,* Esth. iv. 3, or *the majority,* 1 Kings xviii. 25; הַגְּדֹלִים *the greatest,* 2 Sam. vii. 9. When, however, the whole is not indicated at all, but a high degree is to be stated absolutely (as in the proposition, *the question is very difficult*), this idea can be expressed only through the repetition of the adjective; as, עָמֹק עָמֹק *deep, deep, i.e.* very deep, Eccles. vii. 24,—unless מְאֹד *very,* or (what is very rare) מִכֹּל *than all, before all,* Jer. xvii. 9,[1] be co-ordinated with the adjective. Later writers even readily repeat the כֹּל before and after its noun, as in Ezek. xliv. 30, and elsewhere in this writer, also Ps. cxix. 128.[2] Or there is left a mass of words resembling one another, as, חָכָם מְחֻכָּם *a wise man become knowing, i.e.* one who is completely, supremely wise, Prov. xxx. 24, Ps. lxiv. 7, Ex. xii. 9, Isa. xxviii. 16;[3] and, as we can say in rhetorical

[1] This construction is more frequent in the Arabic (see Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* ii. p. 179) and in the Syriac, see *Ephraemi Carmina,* ed. Hahn, p. 80, last line, 81, line 2.

[2] Compare also ܟܠ ܟܠܗ, Catalog. codd. Syr. Lond. p. 15*a*, and other passages in Syriac writers.

[3] Compare ظلّ ظليل, *Hamâsa,* p. 43, second last line; النعيم النعم, *Fâkih. Khulaf.* p. 20, 14. The form מְחֻכָּם itself already includes the idea

style, שְׁמָמָה וּמְשַׁמָּה *waste and* [787] *devastation, i.e.* the greatest desolation, Job xxx. 3, Ezek. vi. 14; הִתַּמְּהוּ תְּמָהוּ *be astonished, astonied* [Ger. *sich erstaunen, staunen*], Hab. i. 5, Zeph. ii. 1, Isa. xxix. 9. In the case of the adverb מְאֹד *very*, there remains no other mode of indicating a high degree than simple repetition (see § 311*b*).

314*a*. 3. The construction whereby a person [or thing] receives the most distinct prominence is that in which special reference is once more made to it by means of the pronoun הוּא, *αὐτός*, Lat. *ipse* (see § 105*f*), the word being marked out in this way more than others; thus, הַדָּם הוּא *the blood itself;* הַלֵּוִי הוּא *the Levite himself*, Lev. xvii. 11, Num. xviii. 23, Isa. vii. 14, Ps. l. 6, Prov. iii. 34, xxviii. 10, Hos. iv. 14, Esth. ix. 1. Because הוּא, in this case, simply means *self*, and thus forms a somewhat freer subordinate adjunct to the word which it modifies, it is placed without the article after the noun defined; while הַהוּא (which, as shown in § 293*a*, is co-ordinated with a preceding definite noun) rather means *the same*, Lat. *idem*, thus, הַיּוֹם הַהוּא *the same day*. This הַהוּא, in the sense of *that*, as contrasted with הַזֶּה *this*, comes more and more to occupy the place of הַלָּזֶה *yon*, which is not used at all in the plural (see § 183*b* [Ges. § 34, Rem. 2; Gr. § 73, 2; Dav. § 13]). The marked difference which thus exists between הַהוּא *the same* (which can be used only in apposition) and the above more loosely attached הוּא, shows itself further when prepositions are added; for, when there is merely co-ordination, it is sufficient in this, as in other cases (see § 293*a*), to use the preposition once at the beginning, as, בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא *that day;* while, in the other instance, the preposition may be repeated, as, לַכֹּהֵן לוֹ *to the priest himself*, Lev. vii. 8, cf. vers. 9, 14; in the case of the combination גַּם הוּא, however, in the sense of *et ipse*, there is no further change made on the pronoun, as if it had already come exactly to mean our *likewise, also*, Gen.

of a gradation (see § 120*b*), and thus also a retrospect towards the preceding word, in the same way as מְחֻפָּשׂ in Ps. lxiv. 7 and מְבֻשָּׁל in Ex. xii. 9; exactly similar cases are نَسْيًا مَنْسِيًّا, Sura xix. 23; ܚܘܪܒܬܐ ܡܚܪܒܬܐ, Lagarde's *Anal. Syr.* p. 49, 21. Closely connected with this usage is the accumulation of words having a similar meaning, and resembling each other in sound; as, מְעוּף צוּקָה, Isa. viii. 22.

iv. 26, x. 21, cf. iv. 4. The prefixing of הוּא, in the sense of *ipse*, certainly introduces more of a finish into the sentence, but is found, in old Hebrew, only in such a collocation of words as הוּא הַלַּיְלָה הַזֶּה *this same night*, Ex. xii. 42, where another pronoun is already employed; the construction, however, is genuine Aramaic,[1] and accordingly we read מֵהֶם מִבְּנֵי רְאוּבֵן *of the same sons of Reuben*, 1 Chron. iv. 42, cf. Jer. ii. 31, 2 Chron. xxxii. 29, Ezra vii. 6. Though this הוּא, in the sense of *ipse*, may be joined with the second or first person also, as, אַתָּה הוּא *thou thyself*, Jer. xlix. 12, yet we likewise find אַתֶּם רְאוּ *see* (for) *yourselves!* Jer. ii. 31, and לָכֶם אַתֶּם *vobis ipsis*, Hag. i. 4.

b. Since, then, this small word הוּא possesses such a strong retrospective power in Hebrew, we cannot be surprised to find that, even when placed alone in the predicate, it may retain its meaning of *the same*, as is undeniably the case at least in the artificially brief style, often mentioned already, adopted by the poets of the second period; proof passages are Job iii. 19, Isa. xli. 4, Ps. cii. 28. Or וְהוּא is added in a new proposition, with special force, as the subject, *he himself*, Gen. xlix. 13; וְהוּא גַּם [788] *and he himself also*, 2 Sam. xvii. 10; but (what is most remarkable, though only in accordance with the case explained in § *a*) גַּם הוּא is also prefixed, in Isa. xxx. 33, not as the subject [but with the dative].

c. Since the Hebrew language has no *reflexive* pronoun *self* in current use, it employs instead (1) the suffix pronoun of the third person, when *another noun* (or what is properly the same thing, a preposition) separates the suffix from the subject; as, אָמַר בְּלִבּוֹ *he said in his heart*, עָשָׂה לוֹ אֵל *he made for himself* (or simply the dative, *himself*) *a god;* without this [intervening word or particle, *i.e.*] in a case of direct, immediate construction, as, *interficit se, laudat se*, the suffix can never have this meaning. The suffix of the third person, however, when attached to אֵת (especially considering the original meaning of this particle [which is similar to that of *αὐτός*], see § 207*c*), may very well have a reflexive sense; thus, אֹתוֹ *se ipsum*, Ex. v. 19, 2 Sam. xv. 25, Jer. vii. 19, Ezek. xxxiv.

[1] And Neo-Hebraic; as, בּוֹ בַּיּוֹם *on the same day*, an expression often found in the Mishna.

2, 8, 10. (2) When this pronoun is not sufficient, the pronominal suffixes are joined with נֶפֶשׁ *soul,* or similar words (see § 286*f*); as, *I know* נַפְשִׁי *my soul, i.e.* myself; פָּנַי יֵלֵכוּ *my face* (*i.e.* my person) *will go* (*i.e.* I shall go personally); נַפְשָׁם *their soul* (*i.e.* they themselves) went *into captivity,* Isa. xlvi. 2; לְנַפְשָׁם *for themselves,* Hos. ix. 4; בְּנַפְשׁוֹ *in* (or *by*) *itself,* Lev. xvii. 14.[1]

315*a*. III. An unemphatic pronoun in the dative, joined to the verb in the same person with it, may very palpably express the way in which the action returns upon itself, is terminated and completed; as, הָלַךְ לוֹ *he is gone*[2] [Ger. *er ist sich gegangen*], *i.e.* he has taken himself off, made off with himself, is quite vanished, as it were, Cant. ii. 11, Gen. xii. 1;[3] nay, such a pronoun may even accompany a reflexive verb, as, הִתְהַלֵּךְ לוֹ Ps. lviii. 8;[4] a similar expression is נָס לוֹ *he fled for himself, i.e.* betook himself to flight, Isa. xxxi. 8, Cant. viii. 14, Amos vii. 12, though, in prose, נָס and בָּרַח alone [*i.e.* without the reflexive pronoun] are always used in the same meaning. In most cases, however, this mode of expression rather indicates a special participation in the action by the agent or speaker, a certain earnestness or zeal with which he acts; but it occurs, as an expression of heartiness, more in the diffuse and easy-going popular style, both in poetry and in unimpassioned prose; thus, קִוּוּ לָמוֹ *they hoped for themselves* (*i.e.* almost our *earnestly*), Job vi. 19; with an intransitive participle, which is at the same time applied to an inanimate object, as, *the cart* הַמְלֵאָה לָהּ *which is full for itself* (*i.e.* which has quite filled itself) *with sheaves,* Amos ii. 13; and especially in sentences in which advice is tendered or a question asked, such a dative is apt to intrude itself, Isa. ii. 22, xxiii. 7.

[1] On this passage, compare the remarks in Ewald's *Antiquities*, p. 38 [Eng. transl.].

[2] [This so-called "ethical dative" serves to indicate that the action is of special importance for the agent. See Giesebrecht on the Hebrew preposition Lamed, p. 68 ff.]

[3] French *s'en aller*; the construction is frequently found in the Mishna.

[4] In Prov. xiii. 13, יֵחָבֶל לוֹ might be taken to mean *he is utterly destroyed*, like ܐܘܒܕ ܠܗ in the Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp (Cureton's *Corpus Ign.* p. 10, line 6); but the expression in the former passage has rather quite another meaning.

The strong liking on the part of certain later poets for the use [789] of the particle, in the Aramaic fashion, is clearly evidenced by Ps. cxx. 6, cxxii. 3, cxxiii. 4. On the other hand, the extensive accumulation of pronouns having a reflex reference produces a degree of pleasantry, such as is found in the Lat. *ipsissimi*, Ger. *höchstselbst:* הֵמָּה . . . הֵמָּה לָהֶם, Eccles. iii. 18.

b. Through the influence of dialectical peculiarities in the decadence of the language, some poets have occasionally admitted, into the current of discourse, the smoother construction by means of the suffix ־ֵנִי *me*, and ־ְךָ *thee*, instead of the stronger לִי *to me*, לְךָ *to thee;*[1] but in nearly every case these suffixes are used for the pronoun when it is not of much importance, and readily rejected, as Ezek. xxix. 3 (cf. ver. 9, where it is omitted), Isa. xliv. 21, lxv. 5, Job xxxi. 18; it would be uttered with emphasis only in Zech. vii. 5, where, however, it must rather be an accusative.[2] It is different with נְתַתִּיו, Ezek. xxi. 32, if this means, *I give* (it) *to him;* since this brevity of expression, though very rare, is explained by what is laid down in § 283*b*.

c. Lastly, another phenomenon which presents itself in connection with this subject, is the profuse accumulation of particles for the purpose of forming an idea which the language, at an earlier stage, and when less effeminate, could easily express in a much more brief and simple way. As the language generally, in its later stages, is characterized partly by an artificial brevity in the written style, partly by a greater diffuseness of expression quite the opposite of the other feature, so this diffuseness reveals itself, on the lower side, partly by the presence of some foreign elements derived from corrupt dialects which gradually made their way into the language,

[1] The same tendency shows itself in the Aramaic and Ethiopic; but in the old Arabic it is exhibited only in the well-known ذاكَ for ذلكَ *that*, and in the dialectical ارايتكَ *do you think?* (On this point, cf. *Hamâsa*, p. 213, 1, and the Scholia there.)

[2] Compare the Aramaic, "*his colour* שְׁנוֹהִי *changed* (on) *him*," Dan. v. 6, instead of which in ver. 9, where the participle is used, we find עֲלוֹהִי *upon him;* the like construction is found in Neo-Syriac, see *Amer. Orient. Journal*, v. p. 155; also in modern Persian, Armenian, and even in Coptic.

but mostly, or at least most perceptibly, by these accumulations of smaller particles. The tendency of the language to adopt these was at first only dimly perceptible, but reached its climax in the Books of the Chronicles. Thus (1) the prep. לְ appears in places where the language, in its older and more vigorous period, readily dispensed with it: this begins pretty early in the case of the word לְבַעֲבוּר, from בַּעֲבוּר, which properly means, *in moving*, but, like the German *wegen*,[1] is now used merely to indicate the *cause*, etc. (as, בַּעֲבוּרִי, בַּעֲבוּרְךָ *for my* [790] *sake*, etc. [Ger. *meinetwegen*, u. s. w.]); or, in construction with a verb (hence, according to § 337*b*, mostly with the infinitive), to indicate the issue kept in view, *i.e.* the *object* or *aim*. In this latter meaning, however, the word is combined with לְ, because this particle also can indicate the same idea only in a more imperfect way (see § 337*b*); as, לְבַעֲבוּר נַסּוֹת *for because of proving*, i.e. *in order that* he may try, Ex. xx. 20, 2 Sam. xiv. 20, xvii. 14. For a similar reason the much-worn לְ (joined, according to § 237*c*, with the inf. const.) is also used after לְמַעַן (see § 222*b*) with a similar meaning, Ezek. xxi. 20; as well as after לְבִלְתִּי (see § 322*a*) in 2 Kings xxiii. 10, where it did not originally exist. Moreover, בַּעֲבוּר לְ occurs in 1 Chron. xix. 3, with which compare 2 Sam. x. 3, where first בַּעֲבוּר is used with the bald form of the infinitive, and then the briefer לְ instead of it, with the following infinitive. But further, not merely is לְאֵין used in the sense of, *so that there is no* . . . (a meaning which is adequately expressed, in the earlier style, by אֵין, subordinated as shown in § 286*g*), 1 Chron. xxii. 4, 2 Chron. xx. 25, but לְ is even placed before the absolute infinitive, as, לְהַרְבֵּה *much* (prop. *that there is much*), 2 Chron. xi. 12, xvi. 8, Neh. v. 18; cf. also לְכָלָה *completely* (see § 283*d*), 2 Chron. xii. 12, and, similarly, אֶל־חִנָּם, like our *in vain*, i.e. *vainly* [Ger. *zum vergeblichen*, i.e. *vergeblich*] (see

[1] The root עָבַר signifies *to go beyond*, *exceed*, both in height (hence to swell; עָבוּר the *fruit*, Josh. v. 11 f.) and in length, so that it also corresponds to our *beyond*, *past*, *over* [Ger. *vorüber*], and עִבּוּר in another dialect might mean the *main road;* thus, פָּרָשַׁת הָעִבּוּר (for this is the proper reading), M. Berachoth, iv. 4, is most correctly rendered *the cross-way*, i.e. danger. When used with reference to time, it is also equivalent to *so long as*, *while* [during the time that]; but it occurs in this way only once, and as a provincialism, 2 Sam. xii. 21.

§ 204*b*), Ezek. vi. 10. (2) As, in the cases just mentioned, לְ merely serves to give more definite form to adverbs, so also בִּמְהֵרָה *quickly*, Eccles. iv. 12, בְּפִתְאֹם *suddenly*, 2 Chron. xxix. 36, and בְּיוֹם *daily*, Neh. ix. 19, stand for ideas which, in older books, are clear enough without this preposition. (3) עַד אֶל־ *even to*, occurs in 2 Kings ix. 20; also עַד לְ in many cases where, at an earlier period, the simple עַד was sufficient; as, עַד לְמְאֹד *even to much, i.e.* very much, 2 Chron. xvi. 14, cf. 1 Kings xviii. 29, 1 Chron. xxviii. 7, 20, 2 Chron. xiv. 12, xxvi. 8 (*twice*), 15, 16, xxix. 28, 30, xxxvi. 16, Ezra iii. 13, ix. 4, 6, x. 14: even before the absolute infinitive we now find such prepositions as, עַד כַּלֵּה, or עַד לְכַלֵּה *even to complete*, i.e. completely, 2 Kings xiii. 17, 19, 2 Chron. xxiv. 10, xxxi. 1, with which compare ver. 10.[1] Other special cases of this kind are, לִפְנֵי מִזֶּה as it were *formerly from this*, Neh. xiii. 4; לְבַד עַל as it were *apart from, besides*, Ezra i. 6; and אַחֲרֵי כַּאֲשֶׁר *after when* . . ., Josh. ii. 7.

d. As is to be expected in a language formed to serve especially as an instrument for divine communications, the older Hebrew, along with the greatest possible clearness, rather exhibits an extreme brevity and precision in the expression of its sentences,—features which, when there is special occasion, sometimes reach their climax, as in Mic. vii. 12. Similarly, in architectural descriptions and specifications of such a character, greater brevity is gradually attained, as 1 Kings vii. 12, Neh. iii., and Chronicles.

[791] (*b*) *Agreement of Words in Gender and Number.*

316*a*. When adjectives, pronouns, and verbs are put into construction with their nouns, these parts of a sentence must almost always exhibit complete *similarity in gender and number*. When words forming a group are placed in apposition, the adjective and pronoun are most rigidly regulated by the noun

[1] A form like כַּלֵּה, however, may be regarded as the construct infinitive (see § 238*e*) [Ges. § 52, Rem. 3, and § 75, Rem. 10; Gr. § 174, 3], and there is no necessity in this case for reading כָּלָה, in accordance with לְכָלָה, already cited.

(see § 293*a*): but when there is opposed to the latter a verb, adjective, or pronoun, as the predicate; when the sentence is further extended in many ways; or when one sentence is attached to the other, then the connection of the discourse, in this respect, becomes more slight, and not a few exceptions to the general rule seem to present themselves. Besides this, of course, the original inflected forms for gender and number gradually cease to be used; and here, again, we perceive how widely the language, in its present shape, differs from what it originally was (see § 171 ff.). A tendency that seeks to gain ground in the language is, to employ, as much as possible, the singular instead of the plural, and the masculine instead of the feminine; but this is far from having yet become so widely prevalent as in later languages (*e.g.* the modern Persian, and even Armenian), and the Hebrew is perhaps, in this respect, still like the Greek. Accordingly, the manifold deviations [from the general rule] do not arise from mere caprice, but from the great freedom and lightness of the language, which pays less regard to a word in the outward form which it has retained from antiquity, than to the *position* it occupies, or the ever changing *idea* which it represents.

1. If the verb or adjective, as the one half of the sentence, is mentioned *before* the subject has been named (and thus clearly presented to the mind), it may remain in the person-form which is most convenient, and still undefined, viz. the *masc. sing.*, especially when the predicate, according to its usual position, precedes the subject (see § 306*b*); but if the subject has been mentioned, this indefiniteness cannot be begun or continued.[1] In the Arabic at least, this convenient mode of construction has become very prevalent; in the Hebrew, too, it is not rare when the verb is used, as, עָבַר הָרִנָּה *there passed along the cry*, 1 Kings xxii. 36; לֹא הָיָה בָהֶם יָדַיִם *there were in*

[1] It is continued in one case, 1 Kings x. 12, but this passage is also found in an altered form, 2 Chron. ix. 11; its adoption here, moreover, finds ground for excuse in the group of words כֵּן עֲצֵי *thus trees*, *i.e.* such trees, where כֵּן might be regarded as the principal word in the group. In 1 Kings xxii. 13, we must probably read דִּבְּרוּ for דְּבָרֵי, though this form is repeated in 2 Chron. xviii. 12; compare the Septuagint. In other passages also, the present text is sometimes defective on this score, as Jer. xlviii. 15, according to the points, and 1 Sam. xix. 20, where we must read וַיִּרְאוּ.

them no hands, i.e. they had no power, Josh. viii. 20, Gen. i. 14, xli. 50, Mic. i. 13, Job xxx. 15, Eccles. vii. 7, Ps. cxxiv. 5, Deut. xxxii. 5, 2 Kings vii. 11, [792] Esth. ix. 23; such cases, however, as יִשְׁתַּמֵּר חֻקּוֹת *there are kept the statutes,* Mic. vi. 16, may also be explained from what is stated in § 295*b*. It is much more rare to find an *adjective,* used as the predicate, treated in this way; but see Ps. cxix. 137, 155.

b. It is but seldom that an adjective, when employed as a more remote description of the predicate (see § 279*a*), and consequently subordinated in the accusative, remains merely in this most handy [uninflected] form, in the same way as the German constantly permits the adjective, even when forming the nearest predicate, to remain without inflection; as, *they go* עָרוֹם *naked* [Ger. *sie gehen nackt*], Job xxiv. 7, 10, xii. 17, 19, Isa. xx. 4; in all these passages, the adjective is not the nearest predicate. But it is just such adjectives as עֵירֹם or עָרוֹם *naked* that must soonest have lost the feminine form (see § 175*a*), as is to be inferred from Ezek. xvi. 7, 22, 39, xxiii. 29; they are, however, rather originally nouns (see § 286*e*).[1] We must regard in a different way Isa. iii. 12 (where the first member of the verse is to be taken in connection with the following) and Jer. l. 41 f. (where the sing. and plur. interchange, for the reasons shown in § 317*b*). Cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* § 681 ff.

317*a*. 2. The vast majority of deviations from the rule arise out of disregard for the external *form* of a word, because the *idea* contained in it comes to exercise more influence :—

(1.) Inasmuch as the *feminine* is the proper form for *abstracts* (see § 179 [Ger. § 86, 6; Gr. § 198]), while the individuals forming the plural may be comprehended in an abstract noun, any *plural* may be construed with a predicate in the *fem. sing.;* this is especially easy in the case of inanimate objects, beasts, or co-operating members of one body, etc., in which the action of the individuals is not so very conspicuous (contrast § *b*); as, תַּעֲרֹג בְּהֵמוֹת, like the Greek τὰ θηρία ἀναβλέπει, *the beasts look up,* Joel i. 20, Isa. xxxiv. 13, Jer. iv. 14, xii. 4, and, according to the *Kethib,* ii. 15, xxii. 6; also Ps. xviii. 35,

[1] In a manner exactly parallel, ܥܪܛܠܝ *naked,* is also used for the fem. and plur., Clem. *de virg.* ii. 10; and from this word is derived a new adjective ܥܪܛܠܝܐ, Barhebræus, p. 328, 1.

xxxvii. 31, Prov. xv. 22, Job xiv. 19, xvi. 16, xx. 11, xxvii. 20, xxx. 15, Zech. vi. 14, Neh. xiii. 10, 2 Sam. xxiv. 13: also with the dual, as, עֵינָיו קָמָה *his eyes stood out*, 1 Sam. iv. 15, 1 Kings xiv. 6, 12, Mic. iv. 11; with an adjective as the predicate, Mic. i. 9. This freedom, however, is never possible in the case of adjectives or pronouns placed in immediate co-ordination, though it may be allowed in pronouns which refer, more remotely, to a plural; as, *the wild beast of the field* תְּדוּשֶׁהָ *tramples on it* (prop. *them*, viz. the eggs), Job xxxix. 15, xiv. 19 (where the irregularity does not show itself till the second member), Ps. cxix. 98 (*Qeri*), 2 Kings iii. 3, x. 26, xvii. 22. On the whole, however, this construction is still rare, and almost exclusively confined to poetry, though, to be sure, it has become quite predominant in Arabic. Still more easy is it to understand why a *plural* which [793] already contains in itself the idea of a mere abstract noun (see § 179*a* [and Ges. § 108, 2; Gr. § 201, 1*a*]), such as נְעוּרִים *youth*, is construed with the *fem. sing.* of the verb, Ps. ciii. 5.

b. (2.) The opposite of this is presented by the many cases in which a transition is made from the *sing.* to the *plur.*, when the subject intended by the singular consists of several equally independent and active parts (*i.e.* when it is a *collective*). This construction is adopted most frequently when, by the singular, animate and active beings are understood, but seldom when inanimate objects are meant; and it is most easily applied, the looser the connection that subsists between the words themselves; hence, it is rare in so close a construction as שְׂאִי עֵינֵיכֶם וּרְאִי *lift up* (*fem. sing.*; for a city, *i.e.* its inhabitants, is thus addressed; hence, [with the plur. masc. suffix] *your eyes and see!* Jer. xiii. 20 (*Kethib*), cf. Mic. i. 11. Further, it is not readily employed in cases of apposition, except when the participle, together with the article, takes up a somewhat more independent and separate position (see § 335*a*), as in Num. xiv. 35; but often in the predicate, and frequently at a later stage in the progress of the discourse, after some words have intervened, when the external [grammatical] form of the subject is less distinctly before the mind. The gender also is regulated merely by the sense. Thus, צָעֲקוּ הָעָם *the people* (*i.e.* the men and women) *cry out;* קִרְיָה יִרָאוּ *the city* (*i.e.* the inhabitants) *is in fear*, Isa. xxv. 3; פְּרָזוֹן *rule, i.e.* rulers, Judg. v. 7; הָאֹרֵב *the lier in wait, i.e.* the

soldiers in ambush (see § 277*a*), Judg. xx. 37; סֹחֵר *the merchant*, Isa. xxiii. 2; אִכָּר *the ploughman*, Amos v. 16; מַנִּי *the player on a stringed instrument* (see §§ 164*a*, 177*a* [Ges. §§ 86, 5 and 87, 1*b*; Gr. §§ 194 and 199*b*]), Ps. xlv. 9, ix. 7; אִישׁ יְהוּדָה *the man* (*i.e.* men) *of Judah* (see § 277*a*), Jer. xliv. 27, 2 Chron. xiii. 15, like זֶרַע הַקֹּדֶשׁ *the holy seed*, Ezra ix. 2; מִלְחָמָה *war*, for enemies, with plur., 1 Kings v. 17; צֹאן *small cattle*, often with fem. plur.; רֶכֶב often *a means of transport* generally, for the plur. masc. and fem., chariots, Nah. ii. 5; יִתְרָה *the rest*, remainder that has been acquired, *i.e.* the riches, Jer. xlviii. 36, like חֶמְדָּה *desire*, *i.e.* jewels, Hag. ii. 7, and חַיִל *power* of the nations, *i.e.* their treasures, Isa. lx. 5; אִמְרָה *speech*, *i.e.* words, Ps. cxix. 103. Since, under these circumstances, the construction with the sing. may be adopted equally as well as that with the plur., it is not surprising that poetic writers have availed themselves of the possibility of changing from one to the other, in order to give greater variety of form to the different members of a verse; as Jer. vi. 22 f.

c. (3.) When several nouns are joined in a series by means of the construct state, the predicate is, properly, regulated by the first, as the chief member of the group; sometimes, however, rather by the second, if, looking at the meaning of the whole series together, the first member is much less important than the second, especially therefore if the first merely mentions a property or circumstance of the second. Thus (*a*) always when כֹּל is the first (see § 286*e*); as, הָיוּ כָל־יָמָיו *all his days were*; וַתִּשָּׂא כָל־הָעֵדָה *then all the assembly lifted up*; only in extremely rare instances does the predicate seem capable of being referred to כֹּל, as, Prov. xvi. 2,[1] Isa. lxiv. 10, Zech. xiv. 15, Ezek. xxxi. 15 [794]. Similarly (*b*) with קוֹל *voice*, when it merely expresses the idea of our adverb *aloud* (see § 286*f*); as, קוֹל דְּמֵי אָחִיךָ צֹעֲקִים *the voice of the blood* (*i.e.* hear how the blood-drops, *i.e.* the shed blood) *of thy brother cries!* or, the blood of thy brother cries aloud! Gen. iv. 10, cf. iii. 8, 1 Kings i. 41, xiv. 6, Isa. lii. 8, Job xxix. 10. And (*c*) when any

[1] But in this case it is better, in accordance with Prov. xxi. 2, to read דֶּרֶךְ in the *sing.*, instead of דַּרְכֵי; moreover, from the simple fact that הָיָה *to be*, which is so very plastic, occurs in them, Isa. lxiv. 10 and Zech. xiv. 15 cannot be taken as very strong proof-passages: regarding Ezek. xxxi. 15, where, perhaps, עֵץ should be read for עֲצֵי, see § 125*b*.

abstract noun stands before a substantive, especially one which indicates a person, so that the former comes to have almost the meaning and the force of an adjective,—as in the case of מִבְחַר *choice*, i.e. *the best;* thus, מִבְחַר שָׁלִשָׁיו טֻבְּעוּ *the choice of his knights* (*i.e.* his best knights) *sank*, Ex. xv. 4; רֹב *multitude*, i.e. *many*, Job xxxii. 7, which is least surprising, on account of what is stated in § 286*e;* but it is followed by מִסְפַּר *number*, Job xv. 20, xxi. 21, xxxviii. 21: moreover, all numerals beyond *two* really belong to this category. A rare construction is וַתַּעֲלֶינָה חָזוּת אַרְבַּע *then there arose an appearance of four*, i.e. like four, forms that seemed like four, Dan. viii. 8, where חָזוּת has almost exactly the meaning of כְּ *like;* but, indeed, every noun subordinated to כְּ (see § 221*a*), and yet placed as the leading word in a proposition, really falls under this head. Further, when any other noun, of whatever kind, precedes a much more important one signifying a person or persons, so that the former admits of being regarded as similarly subordinated; thus, קֶשֶׁת גִּבֹּרִים חַתִּים *the bow* (a word which, like מִלְחָמָה in § *b*, may even in itself easily mean *bowmen*) *of heroes* (*i.e.* heroic bowmen) *are confounded*, 1 Sam. ii. 4; *the eyes of man* (*i.e.* proud man, who throws his eyes aloft) *is humbled*, Isa. ii. 11, cf. Jer. viii. 5; these constructions are chiefly confined to poetry.[1] Moreover, it is very rare that the predicate, when placed after, is referred to the penult noun of the series, when, in accordance with the meaning, the last one also may have the predicate; see 1 Kings xvii. 16 (contrast ver. 14), Lev. xiii. 9, Zech. viii. 10, cf. Job xxii. 12. Generally speaking, such constructions were the more easily formed, because the noun subordinated to the construct state does not suffer the least change of form,—has not, for instance, the form of the genitive [as in Latin, Greek, German, etc.]; the case is different in the Arabic, where, just for that reason, this liberty is far from being so extensive.

The simple numerals from *one* to *ten* always follow the gender of their noun (§ 276*b, c*), whether they are attached to the latter by the construct state or not (see

[1] Regarding similar combinations of words by Arabic poets, see Ibn ʿAqil on the *Alfiyya*, ver. 394, p. 195, in Dieterici, Tabrîzi on the *Hamâsa*, p. 882, second last line. On the other hand, in Jer. ii. 34, for דַּם we must, perhaps, read דְּמֵי with the Septuagint.

§ 286*d*). But, with the fem. בָּאַמָּה *by the ell*, a formula frequently used in reckoning by ells, this numeral [795] always stands in the feminine, as if בְּ served merely as a more specific circumlocution for the genitive-relation; thus, חָמֵשׁ בָּאַמָּה *five ells*, 1 Kings vi. 3, 6.

318*a*. Besides these cases, which are more reducible to general laws, there is still a number of miscellaneous instances in which gender and number, as indicated by a long-established form, are overlooked in favour of a later and more special meaning attached to the word as actually employed in the living language. Thus, רְנָנִים means *clamores*, then a *female ostrich*, ostrich, hence as fem. sing. in Job xxxix. 13–18; סְפָרִים (like *literae*), for *letter* as plur., and more remotely as sing., 2 Kings xix. 14 (Isa. xxxvii. 14); מַמְלָכוֹת *kingdoms*, but inasmuch as warriors are meant, it is masc. in 1 Sam. x. 18; חַטָּאת *sin*, is used as a masc., from the figure of a lion being employed, in Gen. iv. 7; רְמִיָּה *indolence*, is used as a masc. for *the indolent* man, in Prov. xii. 27; תֹּהוּ *vanity*, for false gods, is used as plur. in 1 Sam. xii. 21; regarding בְּלִיַּעַל, see § 176*b*.[1] The gender indicated by the grammatical form also frequently changes with that of the meaning, or the figure employed; as, נֶפֶשׁ *soul*, signifying *man*, is fem. or masc., Gen. xlvi. 27, Lev. xx. 6, xxii. 6, Num. xxxi. 28; צֹאן *sheep*, used figuratively for men, is construed as plur. fem. and masc., Jer. xxiii. 2–4, Ezek. xxxiv. 1 ff.; עֲצָמוֹת *bones*, fem. plur., and with the meaning of *dead*, as masc. plur., Ezek. xxxvii. 1 ff.; שֶׁמֶשׁ *sun* (see § 174*c*), is construed as a masc., on account of a poetic figure, in Ps. xix. 6. *Plurals* especially, whose meaning seems that of a singular, come gradually to be construed as such; thus, חֹמוֹת *mœnia* (see § 180*b* [Ges. § 87, 5, Rem. 1; Gr. § 203*b*]), as masc. plur. and fem. sing., Neh. ii. 13, Jer. li. 58; תְּהֹמוֹת *waves, i.e.* the sea, as fem. sing., in Ps. lxxviii. 15; פָּנִים *face* (see § 178*a* [Ges. § 87, Rem. 2; Gr. § 201, 1]), sometimes with the sing., as 2 Sam. x. 9 (1 Chron. xix. 10), and in the *Kethib* of Prov. xv. 14, Job xvi. 16; probably also the similar מַיִם *water*, Num. xix. 13, 20; שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, is sing. in Job xxxviii. 33; שְׁדֵמוֹת *arva*, a poetic

[1] [There it is stated that this word, which signifies *wickedness*, *destruction*, cannot, as being a peculiar compound, take the plural form, but may, as it stands, be used to mean *destructive men*, as in 2 Sam. xxiii. 6; this signification, however, is usually expressed by prefixing בְּנֵי or אַנְשֵׁי.]

word, without singular, hence, as being almost synonymous with שָׂדֶה *field*, construed with the sing., Hab. iii. 17, Isa. xvi. 8. אֱלֹהִים *God* (see § 178*b* [Ges. § 87, Rem. 2; Gr. § 201, 2]), is construed very frequently and intentionally with the plural, only when used with reference to polytheism or superstition, Ex. xxxii. 4, 8, 1 Kings xii. 29, or when a visible spirit (god) is meant, 1 Sam. xxviii. 13, or when heathens are addressed or spoken about, Gen. xx. 13, 1 Sam. iv. 8, 1 Kings xix. 2, xx. 10, or, lastly, when angels may likewise be understood, Gen. xxxv. 7; under other circumstances, however, in conformity with the Mosaic monotheism, it is joined with the sing. of the predicate, without exception (even 2 Sam. vii. 23 being no exception [since the plur. form of the verb is an incorrect reading; compare the parallel passage in 1 Chron. xvii. 21, where the sing. is used]), and but rarely with the plur. of an adjective placed in apposition, Ex. xx. 3 (where, however, "God" is still used in a general sense, just as in Josh. xxiv. 19), 1 Sam. xvii. 26; in the case of תְּרָפִים *penates*, the construction fluctuates between the plur., Gen. xxxi. 34, and the sing., 1 Sam. xix. 13, 16. Regarding בַּעַל and אָדוֹן *lord, master*, the plural forms of which always have the force of the singular, when in construction, see § 178*b* [Ges. § 108, 2*b*; Gr. § 201, 2].

b. Certain writers also, especially those who lived in the declining period of the language, are less careful and steady than others with regard to such constructions; yet even in these cases, on closer inspection, there is always discovered a more [796] or less remote reason for the deviation from the rule, though this cause operates only more strongly than is necessary. Thus the masc. sing. קִטֵּר *the incensing*, because it has the meaning of sacrifice, comes after a considerable time to be construed with the plural, and then, as a neuter or collective, with the fem. sing., Jer. xliv. 21. Similarly, the pronouns אֵלֶּה and הֵמָּה, though plural, are referred by later writers, simply as neuters singular (see § 172*b*), to a singular, so that by themselves they form the one half of the proposition, 1 Chron. xxiv. 19, 2 Chron. iii. 3, xvii. 14, viii. 11, Jer. vii. 4; the suffix ־ָם also, like the Lat. *ea*, may have the force of a neuter, Ex. xxiii. 11.

319*a.* 3. Lastly, seeming deviations also arise from indefinite discourse (see § 294*b*). An individual may first be

named instead of all that resemble it, and the discourse then expanded into the plural, which is equally correct; or, conversely, what is first regarded generally may afterwards be individualized. But this change very rarely occurs in separable parts of the same sentence, especially a short one, as Hos. iv. 8, Ps. lxii. 5, Prov. xxviii. 1, Jer. x. 4, xvi. 6, 7, Hag. ii. 16; it is usually met with only in new sentences and descriptions, Jer. ix. 7, Prov. xvi. 13, xxi. 27, xxviii. 4, xxxi. 4, 5, Job v. 5 (where it begins with the suffix, after the change to a new member), xii. 6, xvii. 5, xxiv. 5, 16–18, 22–24, xxviii. 4, Ps. v. 10, lxiv. 9, Amos vi. 9, 10, Zech. xiii. 4–6, xiv. 12, Isa. v. 23, viii. 20, xli. 2, 3, lvii. 2, Ezek. xliv. 25, Lev. xxv. 29–31, 1 Chron. xxix. 8, Neh. iv. 11. A participle, however, may form a short, separate sentence; as, מְבָרְכֶיךָ בָּרוּךְ *those who bless thee* (*i.e.* if any one bless thee) *may he be blessed!* מְחַלְלֶיהָ יוּמָת *those who profane it* (*i.e.* if any one profane it) *he is to be put to death!* Ex. xxxi. 14, Gen. xxvii. 29, cf. xii. 3, Lev. xix. 8, 1 Sam. ii. 10 (*Kethib*), Zech. xi. 5, Hos. x. 5. This freedom, also, is far more largely exercised in poetry than in ordinary prose, in which it scarcely once happens that a word like אָדָם *man* [Ger. *mensch,* Lat. *homo*], on account of its general meaning, is regarded and construed both as sing. and plur., Gen. vi. 3. If a noun, taken by itself, be indefinite in meaning, it may of course (as shown in § 317*b*) be construed as the subject, with a plural in the predicate; as, אַחֵר *another,* which, put in this general way, is equivalent to *others,* Job viii. 8, 19; כֹּל *all,* Deut. xxviii. 60, Ezek. xxviii. 3; it is seldom that an indefinite adjective or substantive is used in this way, Ps. xi. 7, Isa. xvi. 4, Amos v. 16.[1]

The case is similar when *ye* and *thou* interchange in a general proposition, where both may happen to be equally possible, Lev. xxv. 14, cf. Mic. i. 11; or when *thou* and *he,* i.e. *one, a person* [Ger. *man,* Fr. *on*] (see § 294 regarding both), are used interchangeably, with the same meaning, Lev. ii. 8, xiii. 52, 55, 57, Mal. ii. 15.

[1] Hence, even this change in number is regulated by a law of its own; and we cannot say, for instance, that, in the case of אַסִּיר in Isa. x. 4, the plural can be used instead, in that part of the sentence where it is found.

[797] But the case is somewhat different when the discourse is purposely changed, in a new sentence, from a plural into a singular, because, of the multitude previously mentioned, no more than a particular individual is to be understood, Lev. ii. 2, 1 Kings vi. 23, Deut. xxi. 10, xxviii. 48, Isa. v. 26.

b. Since, then, the reasons for a possible interchange of different genders and numbers may be found together in one word and subject, and under very various conditions, interchanges of an extreme kind take place even within one sentence, especially in poetry, as, Amos ix. 11, Isa. xxiii. 13, xxx. 11, 12,[1] x. 5; nay more, change of structure may also be carried out, in this way, within the different members of a verse of poetry, as, Jer. viii. 5, xxiii. 6; the degree, however, in which this change is possible and appropriate, must be determined by a consideration of each particular case. A certain amount of stiffness frequently attaches to the rapid interchange, within the same sentence, in the mode of addressing superiors, *the master* (lord), *the king* being changed for *thou* (see § 184*b*), and *thy servant* for the correlative *I;* as 2 Sam. xiv. 11. [See also Ges. § 137, Rem. 3; Gr. § 279.]

c. 4. Though the *copula* between the subject and predicate (see § 297*a*) is regulated, as far as possible, by the subject, it agrees quite as readily with the predicate, especially when this lies nearer it, and is of more importance; as, Jer. x. 3, Prov. xiv. 35: the most loose construction is exhibited in Josh. xiii. 14.

[1] In ver. 31 of this chapter we must read מִשֵּׁבֶט יַכֶּה, because the meaning must be, "For the voice of Jahve will the Assyrian be afraid, for the rod (with which) He will smite him; and then, whenever [*i.e.* as often as] the rod (viz. the punishment) of destiny [*i.e.* the decreed punishment] passes over, which Jahve brings down upon him (cf. § 345*b*), they [Ger. *man*] will make war on him with timbrels and harps, and with wars of sacrifice," *i.e.* fight him as one destined to be sacrificed amidst temple music and festal rejoicing. Assyria is thus regarded as *masc.* and *fem.* Something different is presented when a word, because it is in itself of doubtful gender (see § 174 ff.), allows this uncertainty to appear in the construction; as, תָּפְתֶּה, which is properly fem., changes into masc. in Isa. xxx. 33.

(c) *Special Kinds of Sentences.*

1. *Negative Sentences.*

320*a*. The Hebrew, like every primary language,[1] originally possesses very many different kinds of negatives, which (1) vary in accordance with the parts of the sentence. For, first of all, (*a*) the negative affects only a single definite word, which it sharply subordinates (see § 321); next, (*b*) and only after this, there arise particles which are used more freely, to produce a negation of the whole sentence; and lastly, (*c*) new ones of a stronger kind, which are formed in order the more sharply to subordinate a word designed to comprise a whole proposition within short compass (see § 322*a*). But (2) the same twofold indication of the feeling in the mind of the speaker, which pervades the verb (see § 223 ff.), is ultimately carried out in the [798] negative particle also; thus, its idea closely approaches that of the most finished part of speech. And (3) when it is considered that these particles—though the original likeness of the Semitic admits of being recognised in them also—interchange very much, in accordance with the difference of languages and dialects, and when, to this diversity, we further add the great variety found among the Hebrew writers, one can fancy what various phenomena meet together here.

1. The two negative particles לֹא and אַל, which are the simplest, and at the same time the most widely prevalent throughout the language, may have originally sprung from the same root;[2] but, looking at the use actually made of

[1] See Ewald's *Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen*, i. p. 54 ff.

[2] For, in Arabic and Syriac, לָא is also used for אַל; the sounds, too, are similar; moreover, the אֵין (see § 321*a*) is certainly only a more strongly developed form of the same original word, which is found in Indo-Germanic also, where, used as the first member of a compound word, it takes the sound of *an-* and *na*, when used to negative a proposition. I am of opinion that, even in this primary word, the Semitic agrees with the Indo-Germanic; and that the Lat. *alius*, Gr. *ἄλλος*, Sanskr. *anyas*, Ger. *anderer*,

the forms, as these have now been developed in the history of the Hebrew language, they are always distinguished in such a way that (*a*) אַל [the subjective negative], like the Greek μή, merely expresses a negation in accordance with the mind and feeling of the speaker: hence, it is employed only with the *imperfect*, and this, too, mostly the *voluntative*, as, אַל יָמֹת *let him not die!* אַל אֵבוֹשָׁה *may I not be ashamed!* Ps. xxv. 2; (*b*) לֹא, on the other hand, is the direct [objective] negative, *non*, οὐκ, as, לֹא הָלַךְ *he is not gone;* hence, in contradistinction with אַל, it may, before the imperfect (rarely the voluntative, Gen. xxiv. 8), set forth a command as an objective (*i.e.* pressing) necessity; thus, לֹא תִּרְצַח *thou shalt not kill!* but אַל תִּרְצַח *do not kill!* (Regarding this, see further, § 328*c*.) It is but seldom that אַל occurs in mere predicative sentences; even then, however, it always expresses a more hearty sympathy on the part of the speaker, like οὐ μή, as, Ps. xli. 3, l. 3, xxxiv. 6, Jer. xiv. 17, 2 Chron. xiv. 10; and in this way they interchange in poetry, perhaps merely through the change from one member to another, Jer. vii. 6.

b. Both particles serve as negations for the whole sentence, and accordingly almost always *precede* the verb (or whatever else may happen to form the predicate) as the most important and comprehensive word in the sentence; or if, on account of the meaning to be expressed, they stand before another word, their circumstances are always such that they likewise refer to the whole sentence; *e.g.* לֹא שְׁלָחַנִי יַהְוֶה is simply *Jahve sent me not*, just as לֹא נָבִיא אָנֹכִי means *not a prophet am I*, Amos vii. 14; but לֹא יַהְוֶה שְׁלָחַנִי is, *not Jahve* (but another) *hath sent me*, Num. xvi. 29. Hence, these negatives are usually placed immediately before the verb; seldom do some words thrust themselves [799] in between (according to the law stated in § 307*b*), Ps. xlix. 18, Jer. xv. 15; yet we may also clearly perceive, in the placing of the inf. abs. before the same verb

which have been developed as adjectives, have one common origin with it (the ideas *not* and *otherwise* are plainly allied, as the Ethiopic *akô* [not] may be connected with אַחֵר); moreover, that the sounds of *n* and *l* have here interchanged is shown by the Ethiopic *î*-, which (an abbreviation of אִין) merely serves as the negation of a proposition. Thus, then, it is only when we come to בַּל and its cognates (see § 322) that purely Semitic words are found.

(see § 312*b*), how powerfully the original law operates in this case. But *after* the verb, at least, they can never stand, though they are readily placed in such a way that the whole sentence is not expressed, but merely indicated in brief; as, לֹא, when used by way of reply, *not!* i.e. *no!*[1] אַל־נָא *pray do not!* used deprecatingly.

c. The extreme degree to which these particles prefer the inflected finite verb, and avoid the noun-proposition when possible, is especially evinced by the fact that, strictly speaking, they can never stand before a participle or infinitive, in closer construction with it; the participle [through their influence] passes into the finite verb (see § 350*a*), Hos. i. 6, Ps. xxxvii. 21, lxxviii. 39, Ex. ix. 20, 21, xiii. 21, 22, 1 Sam. i. 13, 2 Sam. iii. 34. The same holds true with regard to the infinitive, in its manifold applications; hence, either the finite verb comes in (as, for instance, in the objective form of command, regarding which, see § 328*c*); or, in the case of the inf. absol. (which is to be explained according to § 280), Isa. xxx. 14, or when the infin. constr. may be used, another negative particle must be selected (cf. § 322*a*). However, לֹא may be used before an adjective or similar word, when placed in apposition to another, because such a word gives the meaning of a relative proposition (see § 335). Thus then, though our present tense, when joined with the negative, cannot often be expressed by the participle, as may be done under other circumstances, and though the personal verb must be used instead, yet it is to be observed that it is precisely here that the perfect and the imperfect, though taking a different view of the action, frequently coincide in their final aim, Lev. xi. 5, 6, xvii. 4, 9. The perfect, however, is more natural and convenient; and the meaning might always be expressed by the rendering, "*he never did* or does," Num. xxiii. 21, Ps. i. 1, xv. 3.

321*a*. 2. As has been already shown (in § 286*g*), אַיִן, properly speaking, negatives only a single part of a sentence, *i.e.* never the inflected personal verb (as that which contains both subject and predicate together), but a noun,—in the same way as our prep. *without*, or the prefixes *in-*, *un-*, *non-*; hence

[1] This use of the negative is pretty common; but it has, strangely, been mistaken in the pointing of 1 Kings iii. 22, 23, though correctly apprehended in ii. 30, xi. 22.

it is employed in the subordinate parts of a sentence, as, *they increased* אֵין מִסְפָּר *without number,* innumerably. But it afterwards comes to serve also as a negation of existence in general (see § 298*a*), by being subordinated as the negative of a subject merely; this occurs, first of all, before an indefinite noun, as, אֵין מֶלֶךְ *without king!* i.e. *no king!* or, *there is no king;* or by a relative sentence being immediately attached to it (see § 332), as, *no king* . . ., אֵין עֹשֶׂה *there is not one doing,* or *no one does,* אִישׁ . . . אֵין *nobody at all* . . . Jer. iv. 29. Then it also comes to be used before a definite noun, because the word (compare Gen. vii. 2 with ver. 8), as an imperfect verb, more and more describes non-existence in general (see § 299*a*). Since, however, no definite time is contained in the idea it presents, the word primarily expresses our present (as in Prov. vii 19, [800] Jer. iv. 25, viii. 19; אֵין יוֹסֵף *no Joseph,* i.e. Joseph is gone, Gen. xxxvii. 29, where a present perfect is indicated); yet it is so frequently employed, that it forces its way even into narratives of past events, merely for the purpose of stating, in the current of discourse, *he was not,* Gen. v. 24. But since, notwithstanding the great frequency of this intrusive use of the negative, it still retains in Hebrew its force and value as a noun,[1] the verb, when required in the sentence, must properly be subordinated in the way shown in § 322, or, most briefly, as stated in § 279*a;* when, then, the participle is subordinated to it,[2] there arises a new and pointed expression for the *negative present,* as, אֵינֶנּוּ שֹׁמֵעַ *he is not hearing,* i.e. hear he does not, Jer. vii. 16, 17. As it thus indicates the simple present, so it may also, in narrative, form the negative present of the preterite, indicating continuance, though this is not very common, Gen. xxxix. 23, Jer. xxxii. 32, Esth. ii. 20, iii. 5; it forms the *futurum instans* in Jer. xxxvii. 14; cf. ver. 13. But the *perfect* also may follow in this way, as in narrative, אֵין אֶבֶן נִרְאָה *no stone was seen,* 1 Kings vi. 18. And lastly, the particle has been so long in frequent use, especially for indicating a negation of the present, that it remains even when the subject has to be placed first, by itself; in this case,

[1] In the language of the Mishna, it has already come to be used as a mere particle.

[2] A single exception, due to the employment of the peculiar verb-form יוּכַל (see § 127*b*), occurs in Jer. xxxviii. 5.

however, the verb is strictly subordinated in the participial form, as תֶּבֶן אֵין נִתָּן *straw there is none* (as we also might say, or, *straw is not*) *given*, Ex. v. 16 (but the construction is different in ver. 18).[1] It is extremely rare, however, to find this negative in a sentence indicating a wish, Jer. v. 13.

b. As it has now become much more frequently and freely used than יֵשׁ (see § 299*a*), which is essentially similar, so it may also be placed, in the sentence, still more freely than that particle. Thus it may stand not merely after the subject, and at the very end (in which latter instance the absolute state אַיִן is used, even in narrative, 1 Sam. ix. 4), but even in cases like אָדָם אֵין צַדִּיק *no man whatever is just*, Eccles. vii. 20; אֵין פָּקַד *there is nothing that he hath punished*, Job xxxv. 15 (see § 332). In poetry we may also say נָתַן לְאַיִן *to bring to nothing;* and, with the same meaning, the expression שִׂים לְאַל is once ventured on, Job xxiv. 25.

c. It is not till we get among somewhat later writers that this negative comes to be more frequently construed with the infinitive preceded by לְ; as, אֵין עִמְּךָ לְהִתְיַצֵּב *it is not to stand* (*i.e.* one cannot stand) *before thee*, 2 Chron. xx. 6, [801] Ezra ix. 15, Esth. viii. 8; also in narrating what is past, 2 Chron. v. 11, xxxv. 15. And since this לְ may be dropped again, in the artificially neat style (see § 285*c*), we also find אֵין עֲרֹךְ *there is no comparing, i.e.* nothing can be compared with thee, Ps. xl. 6, 2 Chron. xxxv. 3.

322*a*. בִּלְתִּי, prop. *want of* . . . (see § 211*b* [Ges. § 90, 3*a*, and the Lexicons]), means, *besides, except,* before a whole proposition, Gen. xliii. 3 (זוּלָתִי *except*, is used more before a single word); in the sense of *not*, it is found merely in close construction with nouns or prepositions, when לֹא cannot well be employed (see § 320*b*); it is specially used before the infin. with לְ (see § 237*c*); as, לִשְׁמֹר וּלְבִלְתִּי סוּר *to keep and not to turn aside*, Deut. xvii. 19, 20, Gen. iii. 11. Before the finite verb, however, we find it so early as Ex. xx. 20, inasmuch as לְבִלְתִּי may express intention (*in order that . . . not*); and in Ezek. xiii. 3,

[1] If אֵין נַעֲשָׂה in Eccles. viii. 11 were correct, then it would be necessary to regard the verb-form as the fem. participle, because פִּתְגָם is feminine; but, in Aramaic, this word is not feminine. And that it is better to read נַעֲשֶׂה instead, has been shown in Ewald's *Dichter des A. B.*, ii. p. 294.

where, however, it occurs after a preposition, and in accordance with the construction described in § 333*b;* compare a similar case in which the almost synonymous בִּלְעֲדֵי is used (see § 218*c*), Job xxxiv. 32.

A somewhat weaker and milder negative, from the same root, is בְּלִי (prop. *disappearance,* hence, *no more, no longer,* Ps. lxxii. 7), which in poetry signifies *without, un-* (see § 286*g*), but, after a preposition, stands before a finite verb, as, עַל בְּלִי הִגִּיד *because he did not tell,* Gen. xxxi. 20 ; and finally, it is even used by itself, in poetry, before the [finite] verb, in the same sense as לֹא, Job xli. 18, Hos. viii. 7, ix. 16 (*Kethib*). The form בַּל, which is an abbreviation of this word, is merely poetic, and has exactly the same meaning as the simple negative (§ 320) ; it may also be used for אַל, with which it interchanges in Ps. cxli. 4 ; hence, before the voluntative, it means, *in order that . . . not,* Isa. xiv. 21 (see § 337*b*).[1]

b. אֶפֶס (prop. *want*) is usually placed at the beginning of sentences which indicate restriction or limitation, *only,* Num. xxii. 35, often אֶפֶס כִּי *except that.* On the other hand, when construed like אַיִן, it has the more definite signification of . . . *is no more,* 2 Sam. ix. 3, Amos vi. 10.

c. It has been already shown (see § 286*g*) how far לֹא also may be used in those constructions in which, at other times, אַיִן or the still stronger negatives are employed. Late, and wholly Aramaic, however, is the combination אֲשֶׁר לֹא, like ܕܠܐ, Chald. דִּי לָא, in the sense of *without,* prop. *so that . . . not;* but this occurs only in Esth. iv. 16. More in accordance with the genius of the Hebrew, though very loosely employed, is בְּלֹא, in the sense of *without,* 2 Chron. xxx. 18. But this בְּלֹא, inasmuch as it may have the force of a preposition (see § 222*c* [or the Lexicons]), is also construed with the infin. constr. ; as, בְּלֹא רְאוֹת *without seeing* [Ger. *ohne sehen*], Num. xxxv. 23, cf. ver. 22.

323*a.* 3. Two such negatives are sometimes joined together [802] for the purpose of intensifying the meaning in some degree ; but this is rarely done in the case of the simple

[1] Even in Syriac, the archaic expression, ܡܢ ܒܠܝ ܝܕܥܬܐ *from ignorance*, is still used interchangeably with ܡܢ ܠܐ ܝܕ ; see Lagarde's *Analecta*, p. 62, 11 ff.

negatives, 1 Kings x. 21 (cf. the parallel passage, 2 Chron. ix. 20, where the second is omitted), and is more frequently exemplified only in the construction מִבְּלִי אֵין *from want* that *there is not . . . i.e.* because there is not . . . 2 Kings i. 3, 6, Ex. xiv. 11. A kind of double negative is also formed by מִן (see §§ 217*b* and 270*b*), as the first part of מִבַּלְעֲדֵי *besides, without* (see § 218*c*), Ps. xviii. 32, Isa. xxxvi. 10, and of the shorter מִבְּלִי and מֵאֵין, both of which latter forms, at the beginning of the proposition, represent it more as a secondary, modifying clause, *so that no* . . ., as in Isa. v. 9, vi. 11, Jer. vii. 32, xix. 11, ix. 9 ff., Deut. xxviii. 55; but they may also be employed at any place in the proposition, merely in something like the sense of *no one at all, not at all, without any,* as in Job xviii. 15, Jer. x. 6, 7, hence even מֵאֵין כָּמוֹהוּ *so that there is none like him,* Jer. xxx. 7.[1] This negative is also used with the infinitive (according to § 322*c*) מֵאֵין עוֹד פְּנוֹת *so that there is no more regarding,* with which the following verb [without the negative] is connected by means of וְ, Mal. ii. 13. In all this, therefore, מֵאֵין is but a stronger אֵין.

b. If the negative be combined with כֹּל in such a way that the latter has the meaning of *omnis* (see § 290*c*), then the two words together give the idea of *nullus* (for such compound words are unknown in Hebrew; cf. also מְאוּמָה, לֹא דָבָר *not anything,* nothing); as, *ne edas* כָּל טָמֵא *omne impurum* (nihil impuri), Judg. xiii. 4;[2] לֹא־הַכֹּל *nothing of all that,* Ps. xlix. 18; אֵין כֹּל *nothing at all,* 2 Kings iv. 2, Jer. xiii. 7; and similarly (in accordance with § 286*f*) אֵין־דָּבָר, Ex. v. 11, Jer. xxxviii. 5. But when כֹּל signifies *totus,* it is this idea alone to which the negation applies; as, כֻּלּוֹ לֹא תִרְאֶה *the whole of him thou shalt not see,* Num. xxiii. 13.

2. *Interrogative Sentences.*

324*a*. 1. If the sentence as a whole be interrogative, that word upon which the force of the question chiefly falls is placed first in order; and the emphatic position thus assigned

[1] Many MSS., however, have אָמֵין here, as the other similar passages in Jer. x. 6, 7.

[2] [Hence such New Testament Hebraisms as οὐ πᾶσα σάρξ (the rendering for לֹא כָל־בָּשָׂר), Matt. xxiv. 22, Rom. iii. 20, and οὐ πᾶν ῥῆμα, Luke i. 37.]

to this word at the beginning of the sentence (together with the interrogatory tone, of course) may be sufficient, without any interrogative particle, to indicate the nature of the proposition, as, 1 Sam. xi. 12, 2 Sam. xvi. 17, Ex. xxxiii. 14, Neh. v. 7, Zech. viii. 6, Ezek. xi. 13, xxxii. 2, Job ii. 9. Hence, even לֹא by itself may mean *nonne*, as 2 Sam. xxiii. 5, Hos. x. 9, xi. 5, Ezek. xi. 3, Lam. i. 12, iii. 38, Mal. ii. 15; and negative-interrogative sentences, indicating doubt, which connect themselves with what precedes by means of וְ *and*, followed by the imperfect, are always uttered without an interrogative particle, since the leading word in the question is placed at the beginning, and receives special emphasis; as, וְלְךָ אַגִּיד *and should I tell thée?* Judg. xiv. 16, Jer. xxv. 29. On the whole, however, both in Hebrew (especially of early times) and in Aramaic, and still more in Ethiopic, interrogative particles are rather almost always actually employed; and though there is some excuse [803] for the omission of the particle before a new question, Job xxxvii. 18, cf. ver. 16, yet, on the other hand, in cases like Job xl. 25, it is quite unusual.[1] But the interrogative particles themselves, like the negatives (see § 320*a*), fall into two classes:—

b. (1.) הֲ (see § 104*b*), Lat. *an*, Gr. ἦ,[2] as the most convenient particle, puts into shape an ordinary question regarding something about which the speaker is uncertain; as, הֲשָׁלוֹם לַנַּעַר *is it well with the boy?* 2 Sam. xviii. 32 (cf. ver. 29, where it is wanting). The question serves to give expression to a doubt; hence, in Gen. xviii. 12, the brief, *have I had . . .?* may also be equivalent to, *am I to have . . .?* (how impossible that seems!). But it frequently serves also to indicate a somewhat spirited denial, when the speaker inquires regarding a well-known matter, and the hearer must answer in the negative (cf. Lat. *num*); as, הֲתַחַת אֱלֹהִים אָנֹכִי *am I instead of God? i.e.* am I omnipotent? (this you yourself will surely not presume to believe), Gen. xxx. 1, l. 19. On the other hand, הֲלֹא *nonne,*

[1] Should we prefer to read here הֲתִמְשֹׁךְ *dost thou draw*, in order to produce, and bring out more clearly, a play on the Egyptian word for the crocodile, ⲧⲉⲙⲥⲁϩ, which also found its way into the Arabic, as, تمساح?

[2] The Coptic also has an ⲁⲛ, though it is more rarely used.

when an affirmative answer is expected, often serves to refer to something well known, as, הֲלֹא הֵם כְּתֻבִים *are they not written?* *i.e.* behold, they are written; הֲלֹא אִם *yes assuredly, if only . . . !* 2 Kings xx. 19, cf. Isa. xxxix. 8. Nothing has become more common, in the beginning of sentences, than this הֲלֹא, which corresponds to something like our *yes, certainly!* but it is also frequently shortened into לֹא (see § *a*). On the other hand, אַל, like μή (see § 320*a*), means *surely not?* Ps. cxxi. 3. When this negative אַל is used, as also sometimes in the case of other words beginning with an aspiration, the הֲ is readily dropped, in accordance with the law regarding the fusion of aspirates (see § 70*c*); as, הוּא יוֹרֶה *shall it teach?* Hab. ii. 19, 1 Sam. xxii. 15, 2 Sam. xix. 23, 1 Kings i. 24, Job ii. 9, xxxviii. 18, Gen. xviii. 12, cf. vers. 13, 14; it is even omitted, too, *after* a word ending with an *a* sound, Gen. iv. 7.[1]

הֲכִי *an quod . . .? is it . . . that . . .?* is used when the reason is unknown; thus it is the Lat. *numquid,* Ger. *etwa,* Job vi. 22, 2 Sam. ix. 1, xxiii. 19 (where it occurs even in narrative), Gen. xxvii. 36, xxix. 15. On the other hand, אַל כִּי (Sept. μὴ ὅτι) means *it is not* (I do hope) *really the case that . . .?* or, *surely not . . .?* 2 Kings iii. 13.

c. (2.) אִם (or הֵן, Jer. ii. 10), which is properly a conditional particle (see § 255), is frequently employed in interrogation. Thus,—

(*a*) First of all, with an indirect question, depending on a preceding proposition or thought; as, *ask* אִם אֶחְיֶה *if* (whether, Ger. *ob*) *I shall live,* εἰ ζήσομαι, 2 Kings i. 2 (but הֲ is also used in this way, Gen. viii. 7): hence it also expresses, of itself, the uncertainty or doubt of the questioner, whether that which is asked be really true, Job xxxix. 13.

[804] (*b*) It is the most proper particle to be employed in a question which propounds a second possible alternative, in which case it is, properly, compounded; thus, וְאִם *and if,* i.e. *sive* (see § 361), Job xxii. 3, xl. 8, 9, instead of which, however, there is often found the simple אִם, especially in short sentences; as, הַאַתָּה זֶה אִם לֹא *is it thou or not?* Gen. xxvii. 21, Amos iii. 3–6. Moreover, the antithesis between two such questions may also lie merely in the change from one member of a verse of poetry to another, as Hab. iii. 8; in this case

[1] See the *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissensch.* vi. p. 14.

also, הֲ may be used even a second time, though by this construction the members are less closely connected, Judg. xiv. 15.

(*c*) But, further, it is not exactly necessary that another question should have preceded, but merely something or other from which a transition may be made to another possible something; like our *or . . .?* Isa. xxix. 16. Still different, again, is a case like 1 Kings i. 27, where, as if from modesty or from haste, nothing but אִם is left, there being no apodosis, and no stronger question preceding.

When the chief word in the question is not used at the very beginning of the sentence, though the interrogative, as usual, is prefixed to the whole, then הֲ or הֲלֹא may be repeated in the middle of the longer proposition, before this leading word, and after אִם or הֲ, Gen. xvii. 17, Ps. xciv. 9, 10; similarly after *how long . . .?* Jer. xxiii. 26.

d. In answering such questions, or otherwise replying to the words of another, when it is not enough to take a single word out of the proposition to be answered (*e.g.* the pronoun *I*, in Judg. xiii. 11), instead of our simple affirmative *yes*, still greater fulness of statement must be resorted to; as, כֵּן דִּבַּרְתָּ. On the other hand, for our *no!* it is quite sufficient to use לֹא (see § 320*b*), or לֹא הוּא *it is not*, Jer. v. 12. Only in solemn address is אָמֵן *verily*, used as a reply.

325*a*. 2. Regarding מִי *who?* מָה *what?* see § 182 [Ges. § 36; Gr. § 75; Dav. § 13]. These words may, indeed, as having the force of substantives, form the second member in a group of two, placed in the construct relation (see § 286*a*), as בַּת מִי *whose daughter?* חָכְמַת מָה *cujusnam* (rei) *intelligentia?* Jer. viii. 9; but, except in this case, which is conditioned by the law of the construct state, these interrogatives also must always stand at the beginning of the proposition, otherwise the calm flow of the sentence is disturbed: very curt is וְנַחְנוּ מָה *yet what are we?* Ex. xvi. 7, 8. In particular, מִי at the beginning of the sentence is made so sharply prominent and distinct from other words, that, especially in the old poetic style, הוּא is first inserted before the predicate;[1] as, *who is* he

[1] In the Kabyl language, to the [interrog.] *who*, there is almost always a corresponding participle, *i.e.* a form with the meaning of, *he that* (the one who) . . ., used as the predicate; see Hanoteau, p. 66; also in the Tuaric, see Hanoteau, p. 46 ff.

(that) . . . ? Job iv. 7, xiii. 19, xvii. 3, Isa. l. 9 ; cf. the double question, indicating considerable earnestness, מִי הוּא זֶה וְאֵי־זֶה הוּא *who is he, and which* (see § 326) *is he?* Esth. vii. 5. By placing the demonstrative pronoun זֶה (see § 103 [Ges. § 34; Gr. § 73]) after מִי, the question not merely becomes more animated, as when [805] הוּא is similarly used, but it is also still more closely referred to the object already perceived or called (*who there? who then?* Lat. *quisnam?*); more fully, מִי הוּא זֶה, Ps. xxiv. 10, cf. ver. 8, Jer. xxx. 21, Job xxxviii. 2. Words which follow form an explanatory or relative proposition (see § 332), which, however, is always closely attached, as if the demonstrative pronoun were merely used to define the interrogative more closely. Just because מִי always continues to have so much the force of a substantive, the proper rendering for what we mean by *which man . . . ?* must, in Hebrew, be more fully expressed thus: *who is the man* that . . . ? or, indefinitely, מִי . . . גּוֹי אֶחָד *what one nation,* i.e. what single nation (that you may take out of the whole; see § 278 *b, c*) is . . . ? 2 Sam. vii. 23, Judg. xxi. 8, Deut. iii. 24, where, however, a pretty long relative sentence always follows. A similar case, found in prose, is לָמָּה זֶה *why then?* and the briefer מַה זֶּה is also sometimes used in almost the same sense, Gen. xxvii. 20; but in Ex. iv. 2, 1 Sam. x. 11, מַה־זֶּה is employed as one of the two main parts of the sentence. Since the idea of indefiniteness is intensified in interrogative and negative sentences by מִן (see § 278*c*), מַה־מִּדּוֹד may signify, *what kind* (sort) *of friend?* a signification which it actually bears in Cant. v. 9.

The difference of meaning between the two interrogatives (see § 182 [or the Lexicons]) is always firmly maintained: מָה inquires after the *nature* of the object, even when persons are concerned; as, מָה אֵלֶּה *what* are *these? i.e.* of what kind, or character (Lat. *quales*), Zech. i. 9, iv. 5, 13; and מִי asks about the *person* or persons, even when this meaning is only within the mind of the speaker, as, מִי הַמַּחֲנֶה *who* is the *camp?* i.e. who are the human beings and living creatures in it, Gen. xxxiii. 8, Cant. iii. 6; a mode of expression, however, that requires special notice is מִי שְׁמֶךָ *who* [what] is *thy name,* i.e. *quis nominaris?* Judg. xiii. 17; in Aramaic (Ezra v. 4[1]) the same

[1] Cf. a similar usage even in Amharic and Neo-Syriac; Isenberg's *Gram.* p. 172; *Amer. Orient. Journal*, v. p. 24.

construction is found. A different construction is מִי (like) *whom* (*i.e.* how) *shall Jacob stand?* Amos vii. 2, 5. Noteworthy, also, is the contraction of two short sentences into one; as, מִי אַתָּה קָרָאתָ *who* art *thou* that *hast called?* 1 Sam. xxvi. 14.—The accusative of מִי is always אֶת־מִי *whom?* (see p. 36); but מָה is left without this אֵת even when used with considerable force as the second object, thus, מָה אַתֶּם רְאִיתֶם אֹתוֹ as *what* (*i.e.* of what kind, what like, Lat. *qualem*) *do you see it* (viz. the temple), Hag. ii. 3.

b. מִי יֹדֵעַ *who knows?* is placed in immediate construction, just like a particle, with the meaning of *perhaps*, Joel ii. 14, Jonah iii. 9, 2 Sam. xii. 22 (*Kethib*). But the shorter אֻלַי or אוּלַי is much more frequently used for the expression of this idea.[1]

[806] מָה is also the *what* of objurgation, blame, *i.e.* equivalent to *wherefore?* as in Gen. iii. 13, Ex. xvii. 2, Ps. xlii. 12, Job vii. 21; further, the *what* of objection, and, as such, equivalent to *how?* as in Job ix. 2, xxv. 4. From this meaning, it is natural and easy to make the transition to that of an animated negation, which, though widely prevalent in Arabic, is still very rare, and has only begun to make its appearance, in Hebrew, among the poets, Job xxxi. 1, Cant. viii. 4, cf. ii. 7, iii. 5, 6, 1 Kings xii. 16, cf. with 2 Sam. xx. 1.

מַה לִּי וָלָךְ *what* (is there) *to me and thee?* *i.e.* what have we

[1] It might be supposed that this word אוּלַי contained the elements *whether not* (Ger. *ob nicht*), as if it had arisen from אוֹ (see § 352*a*) and לֹא (cf. לוּלֵא, § 358*b*); and this view seems to find special support in a statement by Schlienz, in his *Views on the Improvement of the Maltese Language*, p. 111, according to which the Maltese *evella*, *i.e.* اولا, means *perhaps;* in confirmation of this meaning, we would then have to compare also *μήποτε*, like the Neo-Hebraic שֶׁמָּא *that not* (where the *not* is only expressed more strongly by *what*), which is formed in imitation of the Aramaic; hence, in Syriac, the still stronger ܕܠܡܐ *dalmo*, which is further contracted into ܕܡܐ *dam;* and the Turkish مگر. But while פֶּן (see § 377*b*) rather serves for the expression of this idea in Hebrew, actual use, in the case of אוּלַי (see § 337*b*), leads to the idea *whether that*, *whether possibly* (Ger. *ob dass*, *ob etwa*); and this is precisely the meaning of لَعَلَّ, with which it is undoubtedly allied. Now, since, according to the Qamus, this Arabic word is

to do with one another? 2 Kings iii. 13, is uttered by way of repelling some one;[1] the וְ may also be omitted (see § 349*b*), Hos. xiv. 9. More severe reproof is contained in the expression מַה לְּךָ *what* (is there) *to thee? what hast thou . . .?* not only when it is construed with the לְ of an infinitive or abstract noun, as, *to do*, Ps. l. 16, Jer. ii. 18, but also when joined, merely as the *why*, indicative of strong rebuke, with the finite verb, Isa. iii. 15, or the participle, for our present, Jonah i. 6. A different meaning, however, arises when the prep. אֵת *with* is used instead of the second לְ; as, *what has the chaff* (in common) *with the grain?* Jer. xxiii. 28.

c. כַּמָּה about what, i.e. *how much?* and afterwards, when applied to time, *how long?* לָמָּה *wherefore, why?* is very often used in asking about the object or aim, and thus also, ultimately, the cause (see § 243*b* [Ges. § 102, 2*d;* Gr. § 231, 4*a*]). A more definite interrogative מַדּוּעַ *why?* is, properly, a much shortened form of מַה־יָּדוּעַ *what* having *seen, experienced* [cf. *τί μαθών;*], because the action arises from experience and knowledge of something; cf. מָה רָאִיתָ, Gen. xx. 11. Though we can scarcely perceive any longer that, in the case of this מַדּוּעַ, there is presented a contraction of two propositions, an interrogative and a relative, which may also be distinctly separated, it still remains much more evident in other instances; as, *wherefore* [807] *then* is there *to me* (*i.e.* what use is there in offering to me) *incense,* immediately after which there follows the relative sentence, *coming* (or, that comes) *from Sheba?* where we say, more prosaically, *why should there*

used interchangeably with *lau anna*, and this latter again (see § 358*a*) signifies *whether that* (Ger. *ob dass*), we must suppose that, in אוּלַי, the *l* has fallen away in front (as in the similar case presented in § 77*c* [viz. the Sanskr. *açru*, a tear, compared with *δάκρυ*, *lachryma*]), and that *lai* is allied with the pronoun (see § 103*c*, *d*); cf. the Septuagint of Josh. ix. 7. If, then, the main force of the double particle rests on its second half, *whether that* . . . , its abbreviation at the front part is also accounted for; and we have therefore no occasion for thinking that it originally signified *whether not*, and is possibly shortened from לוּלֵא (see § 358*b*),—a view which is opposed by the very fact that the final syllable is always written and pronounced in a different way. Once, indeed, in Num. xxii. 33, אוּלַי seems to mean *if not* (unless), just like לוּלֵא in the protasis; but the former word may, in this one passage, be an incorrect reading for the latter.

[1] [Cf. the Greek, *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί;* John ii. 4.]

come to me . . . ? Jer. vi. 20; *how long* is it that *thou wilt not turn away from me?* Job vii. 19.[1]

326*a*. 3. אֵי־זֶה is the interrogative *adjective* (see § 104*c* [or the Lexicons]), *which?* and thus sufficiently distinguished from other interrogatives. As an interrogative, however, it must stand before the noun to be subordinated (see § 287*c*), and hence remains unchangeable in gender and number; זֶה, as the pronoun with the more living form of the two, changes only in accordance with the circumstances of the proposition, *i.e.* it is used as the nominative or accusative, takes a preposition, or remains without one; while the אֵי at the beginning remains as unchangeable as the אֲשֶׁר before its more living pronoun in the relative sentence (see § 331). But the substantive has as little need of being defined in this case as in the similar instances described in § 290*a*; thus, אֵי זֶה בַּיִת *which house?* אֵי מִזֶּה עִיר *from which city?* The article, indeed, is found in cases like אֵי־זֶה הַדֶּרֶךְ הָלַךְ *which way did he go?* 1 Kings xiii. 12 (after which we must read וַיַּרְאוּ, *and they showed,* following the Septuagint), 2 Kings iii. 8, 2 Chron. xviii. 23 (from which we must take הַדֶּרֶךְ to complete the text of 1 Kings xxii. 24), Job xxxviii. 19, 24; but these constructions are rather to be regarded as having originally been, *which* is *the way* that *he went?* (see §§ 325*c* and 332). This compound pronoun, however, like any other, may again be used by itself also, as a neuter; thus, אֵי מִזֶּה *from which, i.e.* whence? Job ii. 2, cf. i. 7, or even, *of what descent?* 2 Sam. i. 13; and, when employed in this way, the pronoun, in order to express the *neuter* more precisely, may take the *feminine* form; as, אֵי לָזֹאת *why?* Jer. v. 7, the answer to which follows in ver. 9.[2]

The same meaning is more briefly expressed by מָה linked in series with a following substantive; as, מַה בֶּצַע *what of advantage?* i.e. *what profit?* מַה דְּמוּת *what likeness?* Gen. xxxvii. 26, Ps. xxx. 10, lxxxix. 48, Job xxvi. 14, Isa. xl. 18, Mal. iii. 14, Eccles. i. 3, iii. 9, v. 15, xi. 2. It is more in the

[1] Cf. similar interrogative propositions in Ewald's *Arab. Gram.* ii. p. 215, and similarly contracted sentences in §§ 332*b*, 336*b*, 337*b*, below.

[2] In the Syriac ܐܝܢܐ *aino*, the two particles have already coalesced; but the feminine is always distinguished under the form ܐܝܕܐ *aido*. This *dô* is contracted from זֹאת, the *d*, which in the masc. has been softened to *n*, being retained.

Aramaic style to separate the two, in the way described in § 287*h*; and, through the influence of the Arabic, a مِنْ *of, from,* intrudes itself in this case, as in that quoted on p. 196 from Cant. v. 9.

b. Since, considering their meaning as a whole, interrogative sentences with *who, what,* possess in many respects a certain resemblance to conditional propositions, the interrogative particle, in conformity with the nature of a conditional sentence, may subordinate the *perfect,* as a comparatively stronger tense, instead of the [808] *imperfect,* as if *quid fecerit* were less harsh in expression than *quid fecit* (see § 355*a, b*). This usage, however, is only very rare, Ps. xi. 3, xxxix. 8, lx. 11*b*, Num. xxiii. 10, 23, Ezek. xviii. 19.[1]

c. אֵיךְ (see § 105*c*) before the *imperfect* marks strong aversion to an act; *how should I . . . ?* Hos. xi. 8, Jer. ix. 6, xii. 5. But, with a wholly different tone and manner of delivery, it may also express joy: *O how shall I . . . ?* Jer. iii. 19.

3. *Exclamatory Words and Sentences.*

327*a*. 1. A single *noun* may be used in exclamation, either by itself, or inserted in a sentence of considerable length; and, since a special exclamatory particle is rarely employed in Hebrew (see § 101), the noun is used without any further alteration, with or without the article, in accordance with the laws which regulate the latter particle; as, הָפְכְּכֶם *your perverseness!* *i.e.* O how perverse ye are! Isa. xxix. 16; הַכֹּהֵן *the (O) priest!* הַמֶּלֶךְ *O king!* 1 Sam. xxiii. 20, if the person addressed is standing before the speaker, and in poetry אֶרֶץ *(O) earth!* Job xvi. 18. The article, however, especially in prose, is more frequently employed in this case for the purpose of distinguishing the noun in some measure; hence, in Ps. lvii. 9, it is used merely with the first of two nouns joined by וְ *and;* probably also, if we may judge from Jer. xlviii. 32, it is used, though exceptionally (see § 290*d*), before the construct state. In all these instances, it is,

[1] Cf. מה מצינו *what do we find?* M. *Menachoth* vii. 3, and *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wiss.* v. p. 165 f.

properly speaking, always the third person that is employed in addressing;[1] and, in exclamations, we actually see that the third person is only gradually changed into the second, Hab. ii. 15; hence, in addressing others, there is used כֻּלְּכֶם or even כֻּלָּם *you all!* Job xvii. 10: our *ye* is still wanting even in cases like, *bless God*, ye who are *from the fountain of Israel! i.e.* ye who are descended from Israel, Ps. lxviii. 27. It is seldom that the word used in exclamation is preceded by a small particle which does not belong to it, as, כִּי *for*, וְ *and*, Isa. xxx. 19; see § 340*b*.

b. Before אֲדֹנִי *my lord!* or, what is properly the same (see § 177*a*), אֲדֹנָי *O Lord* (God): there sometimes stands בִּי (see § 101*c*), Gen. xliii. 20, xliv. 18, Judg. vi. 13, 15. In an exclamation, הוֹי, before the noun, imparts a greater degree of earnestness to the whole; it is especially frequent before the participle, and is particularly characteristic of Isaiah's style, but is rarely met with elsewhere, Amos v. 18, vi. 1, Mic. ii. 1, Hab. ii. 6 ff., Isa. xlv. 9, 10, etc. The stronger אֲהָהּ (see § 101*b*) is construed with the dative; as, אֲהָהּ לַיּוֹם *alas for the day!* Joel i. 15; so also אַלְלַי לִי *woe to me!*

c. Every word or sentence used in swearing is properly an exclamation, whether introduced by בְּ *by . . . !* (see § 217*f*, 3) or by וְ (see § 340*c*); the abbreviation of the discourse is most clearly perceived in the latter case, [809] but in the former also, whole sentences may be abbreviated in this way, cf. Ezek. v. 13–16. Cf. further, § 329*a*.

328*a*. 2. If the *verb*, the main word in the sentence, is to appear as an interjection, the *voluntative* and *imperative* are very smooth and polished forms that may be so employed (see § 223 ff.). But a more vigorous and rough interjectional form, and at the same time one which is capable of being much more extensively employed, is the *infinitive absolute*, inasmuch as it sets forth, with the fullest emphasis, the simple idea of the verb, to the exclusion of all other elements; so that, in less impassioned diction, the verb would be placed in a more definite person, tense, or mood. This takes place especially—

(1.) When the speaker is too full of his subject to mention the action in any other than an ejaculatory manner, and as

[1] On this, compare also § 331*d*.

briefly as possible; thus, *to eat and leave remaining! i.e.* (as shown by the connection of that passage) ye shall certainly eat . . ., 2 Kings iv. 43, cf. 2 Chron. xxxi. 10; הָרֹב *contend* with God? *i.e.* will he (actually) contend with God? Job xl. 2, Jer. iii. 1, vii. 9; חַזֵּק *strengthen! i.e.* (as shown by the context) I must strengthen, Neh. vi. 9.[1] An antithesis may also be expressed more pointedly in this way, Ps. xvii. 5; also an abrupt protasis, as, *look on the right and see!* (*i.e.* though I look . . .) *yet I have no friend,* Ps. cxlii. 5,[2] Jer. xxxii. 33. In all these rare cases, the discourse would become less impassioned by merely adding the finite verb (see § 312*a*). It is very seldom that a prophet, in a similar way, throws into the current of the discourse a pure noun-sentence, which then gives out a far more emphatic ring than an unimpassioned verb-sentence, Isa. i. 28a, xxii. 5b.[3]

b. (2.) In a kind of vehement and rapid description of a number of actions that excite astonishment or displeasure, when it is enough for the speaker to mention the actions simply by themselves, which gives them all the greater force; as, אָלֹה וְכַחֵשׁ וְגָנֹב וְרָצֹחַ *false swearing, and lying, and stealing, and murder!* After the first violent outburst of feeling, the discourse may then easily return, as it progresses, into its usual channel; cf. Hos. iv. 2, x. 4, Isa. xxi. 5, lix. 4, Job xv. 35, Jer. viii. 15, xiv. 19, xxiii. 14, xxxii. 33. Something similar takes place when strong reference has already been made beforehand to the action, so that it is then sufficient to mention it in the simplest and briefest manner; as, *in this let people boast,* הַשְׂכֵּל וְיָדֹעַ אֹתִי in *being prudent and* in *knowing me,* Jer. ix. 23, Isa. v. 5, xx. 2, lviii. 6, 7, Zech. xiv. 12, Mal. ii. 13, Ps. lxv. 11, Num. vi. 23 (in Josh. ix. 20, וְ stands before such an infinitive absolute; see § 348*a*). In this case also, as in all others, the speaker may revert to the ordinary style of speech as he proceeds.

[1] It is thus unnecessary to read אֲחַזֵּק; the Septuagint translator, however, read it so, viz. ἐκραταίωσα.

[2] In this passage we have, then, but to change the vowels, making וְרָאָה instead of וּרְאֵה.

[3] Here we merely follow the Massorah; but the original and better meaning is, *Qír seeks to lay in ruins, and Shóa* (likewise the name of a nation) *is on the mountain!*—like the Latin, *Hannibal ante portas.*

[810] *c.* (3.) This abrupt, energetic mode of expression is most frequently employed to indicate an *absolute command:* what is required is stated in the simplest way, and prescribed in the boldest manner (just as the infinitive is used in ancient Greek also); thus, עָשֹׂה *to do, make,* i.e. *faciendum est;* זָכֹר *to remember, i.e.* thou, ye must remember! Ex. xx. 8; הִמּוֹל *all flesh to be circumcised! i.e.* it must be circumcised, Gen. xvii. 10, and Isa. xiv. 31, where the infinitive is interchanged with the imperative, after the transition from one member of the verse to another. In this way the Hebrew obtains the peculiar form for expressing a command that is to have absolute force (*i.e.* to be regarded as a law); and as this form for expressing enactments is sufficiently distinct from the imperative and voluntative, as the command proceeding merely from one's own will and wish, so also, in negative propositions, there is a perceptible difference between לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה *thou shalt not do,* and אַל תַּעַשׂ *do not* (see § 320*a*). In this case also, by adding the finite verb (according to § 312*a*), a less rigid and harsh form of expression would be produced. When negation is made, the *imperfect* must be used instead of the absol. inf., simply because the latter can never be employed except by itself, and as a wholly uninflected form, not even a closely connected negative being tolerated.

In all cases, however (whether those now discussed or others mentioned elsewhere), in which the *inf. abs.* is placed quite by itself, it is construed like the finite verb for which it stands; if the context requires it, the following noun may also be the *subject* of the verb (Job xl. 2, Prov. xvii. 12, Ps. xvii. 5, Lev. vi. 7, Num. vi. 5, Deut. xv. 2, and with the inf. pass., Gen. xvii. 10): on the other hand, the subject is omitted if the *finite verb* has an indefinite subject (i.e. *one, people,* Ger. *man,* Fr. *on;* see § 294*b*), Prov. xii. 7, xv. 22, xxv. 4, 5, Jer. xxxii. 33. Further, the abnormal mode of expression is used for all the persons of the verb: it most rarely stands for the first person, yet some indubitable instances of this case are found, Ezek. xxi. 31, xxiii. 30, 46, 1 Kings xxii. 30 (2 Chron. xviii. 29), 2 Kings iii. 16. A second infinitive absolute, joined to the first by וְ *and,* may also express the consequence or result of the first action (see § 347*b*), Prov. xiii. 20 (*Kethib*).

329*a*. 3. The words of a complete sentence may form an

abrupt exclamation, even without the help of an outward sign; as, שָׁלוֹם לְךָ *peace* be *to thee!* בָּרוּךְ אַבְרָם *blessed* be *Abram!* It is precisely in the case of an exclamation that the descriptive word (see § 293*b*) can be most easily prefixed in an abrupt manner, as in Isa. xxiii. 13; and the most important instance in which this takes place is the standing formula used in uttering an oath, חֵי נַפְשְׁךָ *living thy soul*, i.e. *as sure* as thy soul liveth! by thy life! Instead of this construct state, the Massorah constantly puts the uninflected adjective חַי in the construction חַי־יְהוָה *as true as God lives!* which is also correct, inasmuch as, in the first person, it is said of God, חַי אָנִי *as sure as I live!* Num. xiv. 28, Deut. xxxii. 40, Jer. xxii. 24, xlvi. 18, Isa. xlix. 18.[1] But we must certainly regard [811] in the same way also, as the words of an oath, the expression עֵינֶיךָ הָרֹאוֹת by *thine eyes which see! i.e.* as sure as thine eyes see, Deut. iii. 21, iv. 3, xi. 7. And since, in instances like those, the accusative always readily suggests itself (see § 203*b*), its sign also is placed before such fragmentary oaths (for so we must regard these expressions, judging by all the traces we can find); as, אֵת אֲשֶׁר *by that which . . . !* 1 Sam. xxx. 23; אֵת הַדָּבָר *by the word . . .*, Hag. ii. 5.[2]

A common expression is also חָלִילָה *to the profane!* (see § 216*a* [and the Lexicons]), *i.e.* away, far be it! It takes the dative of the person, *far be it from thee!* hence it is often joined with מֵיְהוָה *before* God, who abhors it, after which the thing to be shunned is construed with מִן (see § 217*b*); hence, when a verb is required, the latter is put in the infinitive with מִן before it (see § 237*a*), or follows in another way by which the abhorrence is still more strongly expressed. Regarding sentences employed in swearing, which begin with אִם, see § 340*c*.

[1] Hence, this is one of the rare instances of an attributive adjective prefixed (see § 293*b*): the expression properly means *living God!* The Hellenistic translation ζῇ ὁ θεός and ζῶν ἐγώ recurs also in Judith ii. 12 (where, with καί, there is added still another oath of the same kind, used as an exclamation), xi. 7, xii. 4, xiii. 6, and often in the *Protevang. Jacobi*, in the *Evang. Nicodemi*, c. 13 f., and in the *Apoc. Mosis* (Tischendorf's *Apocalypses apocr.* p. 9, line 12, p. 25, line 4 from bottom, p. 62, line 2). That the particle before the fem. נֶפֶשׁ prefers the construct state, is easily explained from what is stated in § 287*a*.

[2] See the *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissensch.* xi. p. 196 f.

Again, in the looser diction of poetry, the mere force of the exclamation often contains the meaning of the substantive verb in the imperative mood, *be it, let there be!* which we would add by way of giving adequate expression to the Hebrew; as, *according to mine innocence* be it (or, let it come) *upon me!* Ps. vii. 9b, xlv. 2c, lvii. 6, civ. 35b, Job vi. 14, xii. 5, Isa. iii. 6, xii. 5.

b. The stronger conditional particle לוּ (see § 385*a*) is properly an optative particle, and as such is construed primarily with the imperfect, or, more precisely, with the voluntative and imperative; as, לוּ יִחְיֶה, prop. *O, if he lived! i.e.* may he live, O that he might live; לוּ שְׁמָעֵנִי *O hear me!* Gen. xvii. 18, xxiii. 13, xxx. 34. If, however, the wish refers to something actually past, which it is no longer possible to accomplish, or to something which for the present appears impossible, and is merely imagined to have an actual existence, the particle governs the perfect; as, לוּ מַתְנוּ *utinam mortui essemus!* Num. xiv. 2, xxx. 3; לוּ יָרַדְתָּ *utinam descenderis!* (Ger. *O stiegest du nieder!*) Isa. lxiv. 1–4; similarly, the perfect is mostly used in conditional propositions. Still greater urgency is indicated by the compound אַחֲלֵי *O that . . . !* Ps. cxix. 5, 2 Kings v. 3, from אָח *ah! alas!* (see § 101*b*) and לֵי = לוּ; cf. لَيْتَ.[1]

In a similar way, but less frequently, the ordinary conditional particle אִם is used with the *imperfect*, prop. *if thou didst it* [812] (how nice that would be)! cf. εἴθε, and see Prov. xxiv. 11, Ps. cxxxix. 19, lxxxi. 9; הֲלֹא אִם *yes, if only . . . !* 2 Kings xx. 19 (a different turn, certainly, is given in the parallel passage, Isa. xxxix. 8); אִם לֹא *if only there were not . . . !* Job xvii. 2, with the voluntative in the second member.

c. A wish whose fulfilment is expected from others is often put in the form of a question asked by מִי, with the imperfect following; as, מִי יַשְׁקֵנִי מַיִם *who will cause me to drink water? i.e.* O that some one would give me water! or, O that I had water! 2 Sam. xxiii. 15, Ps. iv. 7; particularly frequent is

[1] לוּ has itself been softened down from *láu* (Arabic), *lvái* (Aramaic), and hence might the more easily be interchanged with *lái*. In accordance with the accents, the word assumes as it were a construct form אַחֲלֵי in 2 Kings v. 3.

מִי יִתֵּן *who would give? i.e.* would that . . . ! Though this expression, as already containing a complete proposition, may be followed by the leading verb, attached by Vav consecutive (see § 342),—thus, מִי יִתֵּן וְהָיָה *would that there were . . . !* Deut. v. 29,—yet this Vav may also be omitted, simply because מִי יִתֵּן, by itself, is like a conjunction, and employed as if it were a mere optative particle, Job vi. 8; or the verb is put in the infinitive, as מִי יִתֵּן דַּבֵּר אֱלוֹהַּ *who would give* (cause) *the speaking of God?* O that God would speak! Ex. xvi. 3; but the infinitive may also be placed after its subject (according to § 309*a*), if the noun is to receive more emphasis,—a somewhat looser construction, which then becomes precisely similar to the Latin accusative with the infinitive, Job xi. 5; it may also be followed merely by a noun as its object, Ps. xiv. 7.[1]

330*a*. מָה (see § 325*b*) serves also as an exclamation of astonishment at the nature of a thing; as, מַה נּוֹרָא *how dreadful!* מַה טּוּבוֹ *what* (goodness) *his goodness* (is)! *i.e.* how kind he is! Zech. ix. 17; and in the same way זֶה כַּמֶּה שָׁנִים (see § 302*b*) *these how many years!* or, as we may say, with the same meaning, *so many years already*, Zech. vii. 3.

b. כִּי *that*, often serves to strengthen an affirmation, *I maintain that . . . !* Hence (like the Lat. *imo*), it is with us either (*a*) *yes!* and employed in swearing, 1 Sam. xiv. 44, at the beginning of a sentence, Isa. vii. 9, xxxii. 13, Ps. lxxvii. 12, lxxi. 23, Ex. xxii. 22, Job viii. 6, or when an interruption occurs, Gen. xviii. 20, Ps. cxviii. 10–12, cxxviii. 2; or, (*b*) when the connection of the discourse, with what precedes, of itself points to an antithesis, it is our *no!* or *yet, nevertheless,* as Isa. ii. 6, viii. 23, xxviii. 28, Ps. cxli. 8, Lam. iv. 15. Still more plain is אָמְנָם כִּי *yes, verily!* Job xii. 2, cf. ix. 2. Hence, this כִּי is also introduced after actual adjurations, as in Gen. xxii. 16, 17, 1 Sam. xx. 3, 1 Kings i. 29, 30, ii. 23, 24, 2 Kings iii. 14. It is also used with the imperfect when a statement is rejected as incredible; *that she should be rejected! i.e.* she cannot by any means be rejected, Isa. liv. 6, see also § 354*c*.

c. A lamentation over an event that has taken place is thus expressed: אֲהָהּ כִּי קָרָא *alas, that he called . . . !* 2 Kings iii. 10.

[1] Compare a similar construction in Coptic, Ewald's *Sprachwiss. Abhandl.* i. p. 48.

[813] II. DEPENDENT PROPOSITIONS.

1. *Relative Sentences.*

331*a.* Of these, there are in general two kinds: the relative sentence starts (*a*) from a word which indicates a person or a thing (*qui*, or, with less indication of life, *quod,—who*, or *which, that*); as, *qui tacet* and *vir qui tacet;* or, (*b*) from a particle which merely serves to gather up a thought and show the relation in which it stands, *i.e.* a conjunction, as, *gaudeo quod vales.* According to the simplest syntactical arrangement, both kinds in Semitic always *prefix* the word which indicates the relation; arrangements of a more complicated character, as, *quam vidi urbem magna est,* are, at least generally speaking, foreign to the Hebrew. We shall consider—

(1.) *Relative Sentences proceeding from an Independent Word.*

From what has been already stated, it follows, under this head,—

I. That, though the word which indicates relation has the force of a substantive, it is nevertheless placed quite separate and apart from others, at the head of the proposition, and hence is, outwardly, more like a conjunction, as it has neither gender nor number in Hebrew. But because it stands at the beginning in this abrupt and incomplete condition, it must, like any other word so placed, explain itself more fully (when necessary) by means of the personal pronoun, in the sentence following, when the usual calm order of discourse is observed; thus, we must say, *vir, dixi ei,* when *vir* is abruptly placed first (see § 309*b*), and similarly, *qui, dixi ei* for the Lat. *cui dixi.*[1]

[1] [It will be evident that our "relative pronouns" are really composite, having the force of a conjunction and that of a pronoun combined in one word. *E.g.* in the statement, "Rebekah had a brother whose name was Laban," the relative pronoun, introducing the second proposition, and formally subordinating it to the other, is equivalent to "and his," though this plainer construction makes the two propositions co-ordinate. Similarly, *cujus*, *cui*, etc., are compounds formed out of the conjunction, or

b. This custom, however, of placing the relative pronoun by itself at the head of the sentence,—a construction which is extensively followed in Coptic and Turkish, in modern Persian also, and other similar languages,—may be regarded merely as a kind of weakness, and a breaking down in the language of the power to form sentences;[1] but, of course, it finds excuse in the fact that, in such languages, for the most part, the cases have not been fully developed, and there is less liberty allowed in the whole arrangement of words in the sentence. For, if we further consider the manner in which the relation is expressed at the beginning of the sentence, we find that, properly, it always requires to be set forth by a word whose meaning is wholly that of a person, hence by a fully developed pronoun; in this case, therefore, we must quite exclude כִּי, which may always stand at the head of the sentence, but merely as a conjunction *that*, with no personal meaning whatever (see §§ 104*a*, 336). Of words that may be used in this way, we have—

1. אֲשֶׁר[2] *which* (see § 181*b* [Ges. § 36; Gr. § 74]), the most convenient and commonly used particle having this force. Interchanging with it, we find זֶה, or somewhat more frequently, זוּ (see § 183*a*),[3] the particle employed in Aramaic for the same

relative particle, and *ejus*, *ei*, etc. Cf. the careful treatise of Windisch (*Untersuchungen über den Ursprung des Relativ-pronomens in den indogermanischen Sprachen*), in Band II. of the *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik*, herausgegeben von Georg Curtius, Leipzig 1869.]

[1] [Cf. the vulgar English expression, "This is the man that, his mother is dead" (= whose mother is dead).]

[2] [A valuable paper on the origin and employment of this word has recently been written by A. G. Sperling (*Die Nota Relationis im Hebräischen*, Leipzig 1876), who regards it as a mere sign of relation, of a very general and indefinite character. Hence, in order to give the more definite meaning of our relative *pronoun*, there must be joined with it a personal pronoun, either in the separate or in the suffix form (see § *c*, below). And when it is to be used as a relative *conjunction*, it must be combined with a preposition, an adverb, or another conjunction (see § 336*c*; Ges. § 104, 1*c*; Gr. § 239, 2). When it goes to form a relative pronoun, the compensating element *follows*; in the formation of a relative conjunction, the determining element *precedes*.]

[3] Just in the same way as ذُو also came to be used poetically, *i.e.* in certain dialects and ancient writers, in the sense of الّذى, and hence without being declined; *Hamâsa*, p. 514, 17.

purpose, [814] which occurs more in poetry, and only sometimes even there; but when it does occur, it must give up every distinguishing mark of gender and number, just like אֲשֶׁר, Job xv. 17, xix. 19, Ps. lxxviii. 54, civ. 8, Ex. xv. 13, Ps. ix. 16, x. 2, xxxii. 8, lxii. 12. Considering its meaning, the article also, as in German, might always be used interchangeably with the relative (see § 181*a*); but, inasmuch as the former is so much abbreviated in Hebrew, it is but very rarely, and, in the earlier period of the language, not at all used (properly speaking) for this purpose; it is found merely in Josh. x. 24, 1 Sam. ix. 24, Ezek. xxvi. 17, 1 Chron. xxvi. 28, xxix. 8, 17, 2 Chron. xxix. 36, Ezra viii. 25, x. 14, 17.[1]

2. The pronouns מִי *who*, מָה *what*, which are properly interrogative, are employed as relatives in general propositions (see § 105*a* [Ges. § 37, 2; Gr. § 75, 1]), when, as it were by way of inquiry or summons, everything, known or unknown, that can possibly belong to the subject, is to be comprised in the statement made; the words are then to be pronounced with a different tone. When this is the case, we may always render the expression more fully by *whoever*, *whatever*, Gen. xix. 12, Prov. ix. 4, Isa. l. 8, 1 Sam. xx. 4, Judg. vii. 3, though, for *whatever*, there may also be formed the more definite combination דְּבַר מָה (see § 286*f*, cf. § 325*a*), Num. xxiii. 3. Since these words are properly interrogative, a more definite expression may be formed by adding the purely relative particle; thus, מִי אֲשֶׁר *who that* . . ., *i.e.* whoever . . ., 2 Sam. xx. 11, Ex. xxxii. 33; but this combination does not occur in Hebrew in the case of מָה, which has always a feebler force, and it is not till we come to Ecclesiastes that the Aramaizing construction מַה־שֶּׁ *what that* (whatever) . . . is formed, i. 9. The employment of these particles is further limited by the fact that, when a verb in the present belongs to

[1] According to the Massorah, indeed, the article would occur pretty often in this way, and in all the Old Testament writers, without distinction, Gen. xviii. 21, xxi. 3, xlvi. 27, Isa. lvi. 3, Job ii. 11, Ruth iv. 3, Dan. viii. 1; but since, in these cases, the participle may equally well be understood, if we disregard the points, and since the participle is evidently much more suitable, we have here every reason for leaving the Massorah. But that the latter also was itself vacillating in this matter, is evident from a comparison of 1 Kings xi. 9 with Gen. xii. 7.

the sentence, the simple participle, with or (especially in poetry) without the article (see § 335), is quite sufficient to express the idea; it is not till we reach Ecclesiastes (v. 9) that מִי אֹהֵב *he who loves*, an Aramaic mode of expression, presents itself, in one of the members of the verse along with, and as the equivalent of, אֹהֵב in the other parallel member.

c. Through the dismemberment of the relative pronoun (described in § *a*) at the beginning of the sentence, there arises, of course, a greater diffuseness of expression, because two words necessarily come to be used instead of one. But alongside of this is found the endeavour after the greatest possible brevity of expression; in consequence of which the completion of the idea by means of the personal pronoun is often dropped, when this omission may readily be allowed. The separate cases are the following:—

(1.) When, according to the sense of the whole proposition, the word indicative of relation has the force of the *subject*, the personal pronoun follows in the nominative, and in the place which it would [815] otherwise occupy; as, אֲשֶׁר הוּא חַי that *which is living*, Gen. ix. 3, Deut. xx. 15, Ps. xvi. 3, 2 Chron. viii. 7.[1] This pronoun, however, may also be omitted, because the word which marks the relation readily bears, besides the idea of the subject, especially in short sentences; as, הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ *οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ* (for, in prose, brief defining clauses, belonging to individual nouns, are also readily joined with the latter, for the sake of greater clearness and precision; see § 293*d*); מִי פְתִי he *who* is *foolish*, Prov. ix. 16. But the pronoun is necessarily omitted before every finite verb which is used as the predicate, inasmuch as the latter already contains the idea of the person (see § 190); as, אֲשֶׁר אָמַר *who said.*

(2.) When the word indicating relation points to the *object*, the latter finds its complementary specification in the *suffix;*[2] as, אֲשֶׁר כְּלָאוֹ the man *whom he imprisoned.* This complement, however, may also be omitted, since the relative-word has likewise the force of the object, because the latter may also stand first in the proposition, if necessary: this omission becomes particularly easy in short sentences, and when only things are

[1] [See, further, Sperling, *Die Nota Relationis im Hebräischen*, p. 33 f.]
[2] [*Ibid.* p. 36 ff.]

spoken of, as, הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר *the word which he spake;* but in the same way also, *the ashes* אֲשֶׁר *to which* (see § 281*e*) *the fire consumes the sacrifice,* Lev. vi. 3; אֲשֶׁר יֵאָמֵר *of which it is said,* Gen. xxii. 14.

(3.) When the relative-word points to an idea which is to be closely subordinated, the suffix can never be omitted, whether it follows an actual noun, as, אֲשֶׁר אָמַר בְּנוֹ he *whose son said,* or a preposition, as, אֲשֶׁר אָמַר לוֹ he *to whom he said.* It is only to substantives which state the time, place, kind, and manner, that the relative-word can be attached without the complement, because these general ideas of relation may, if necessary, be regarded merely as in the accusative (see § 279); thus, עַד הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר בָּא *till the day that he came,* 2 Sam. xix. 25; בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר *in the place that* (where) *he spake,* Gen. xxxv. 13, 14, xl. 13; also, זֶה הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר *this is the reason why,* 1 Kings xi. 27. That in the case of אֲשֶׁר, however, accessory explanations by means of the suffix and a preposition are avoided whenever this is possible, is also shown by far stronger instances, such as Isa. viii. 12, and especially xxxi. 6, Ps. xli. 9 (where קוּם, accordingly, assumes the meanings given in §§ 281*c*, 282*a*), Dan. xi. 39. In prose, too, while, for instance, בָּחַר *to choose,* is at other times almost always construed with בְּ, in relative sentences it is very frequently used without this preposition, Num. xvi. 17 (cf. ver. 5), 2 Sam. xvi. 18; חָמַל *to spare,* construed with עַל in Job xx. 13, stands without it in vi. 10; and, whenever it is possible, an expression beginning with אֲשֶׁר is somewhat contracted, without injuring its perspicuity, Ex. i. 15. At other times, for the sake of clearness, when the words are at a considerable distance from each other in the sentence, instead of using the suffix, the noun itself may be repeated, Gen. xiii. 16, Jer. xxxi. 32, Num. xxvi. 64; cf. the Septuagint.

d. Since the relative-word, then, is very different from a Latin *relative pronoun,* it may be construed not merely with the pronoun of the third person, but also quite as readily with (*a*) a demonstrative adverb, as, אֲשֶׁר שָׁם *where,* [816] אֲשֶׁר מִשָּׁם *whence;*[1] (*b*) with the suffix of the first and second person,

[1] The Arabic here differs widely from the Hebrew, inasmuch as it does not like to degrade its الذى to such an extent as to make it a mere local

by which construction greater brevity and precision may be attained in Hebrew, as, *thou* אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִיךָ *whom I brought out*, Deut. v. 6, iii. 24, Hos. xiv. 4; *I* אֲשֶׁר בְּרִיתִי *whose covenant* . . ., Jer. xxxi. 32.[1] The same thing also may take place, especially in poetry, when there is a gradual transition from the third to the second person, and conversely, Hab. ii. 15, Isa. xxiii. 2, 3. For it is to be remarked generally, that, in the oldest Semitic, neither *thou* nor *I* have ever been employed in direct exclamation; hence such expressions as, *O thou!* etc. (Ger. *o du! o ich! o er!*), are in it impossible, so largely do these pronouns, in this form, continue to have the force merely of nominatives, as explained in § 202*b*.[2] Hence, address [*i.e.* something stated in the second person] almost exclusively passes on to the subject, *i.e.* to something that would correspond to the third person; but the second person is all the more apt to arise during the progress of the discourse, as Isa. xxxiii. 1. On the other hand, such constructions as, *I* אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי *who* . . . [Ger. *der ich* . . .], Deut. xxx. 16, are self-evident.

332*a*. II. We must next carefully distinguish between the three possible *positions* and *connections* of such a relative-sentence:—

1. The proposition which merely forms a further description of a noun that has been mentioned, is most closely allied to the apposition indicated by an *attributive adjective* (see § 293*a*). But, since the person has already been defined in this way by the noun, which must always precede, and does not need to be put before a relative-word, as the basis of the statement; since also, on the other hand, the relative-word is very loosely connected with its own sentence (see § 331), which itself, strictly speaking, must also be complete without it,—it is not surprising that a particular relative-word may, in this case, be omitted. It is most readily dropped when the noun to be

particle; for this idea it prefers to use حَيْثُ, which is explained at p. 268.

[1] [See Sperling, p. 38.]

[2] We have, in this, another plain indication that the *an-* forming the first syllable of אַתָּה and אָנֹכִי is a prefixed nominative-sign, corresponding to the *am* in the Indo-Germanic *aham*, *twam*; but הוּא is probably also only shortened from *huam*, *hua*.

described is indefinite; because אֲשֶׁר *which*, in its origin and force, answers to a demonstrative pronoun, and thus to the article (see § 105*a* [Ges. § 35]); and the Arabic maintains this difference more firmly. But, in the Hebrew, it may be omitted under other circumstances also, especially in the neat, brief style (see § 3*c*);[1] as it may likewise, on the other hand, be retained after a noun which is to be regarded as quite indefinite, if such a course be rendered advisable by the requirements of parallelism in arranging the members of a verse, and by the structure of the propositions, as Mic. ii. 3. The separate cases (according to § 331*c*) are as follows:—

(1.) When the reference by the relative has the meaning of the subject; as, גּוֹי אֵיתָן הוּא a *nation* that is *lasting*, Jer. v. 15, 1 Kings xi. 14; [817] בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא לָהֶם *in* a *land* which is *not to them* (not theirs), *i.e.* a foreign land, Gen. xv. 13, Hab. i. 6, Prov. xxvi. 17; and with a definite noun, Lev. xviii. 11; also with a finite verb, כַּבְּהֵמוֹת נִדְמוּ *like the beasts* that *are destroyed*, *i.e.* in the same way as the beasts are destroyed, Ps. xlix. 13, Isa. xxx. 6.

(2.) When the reference is to the object; as, אֶרֶץ יְדָעָהּ *a land,—he knew it, i.e.* a land (that) he knew; and, since the suffix may be omitted (see § 331*c*), the construction may also be as in דֶּרֶךְ לֹא יָדָעוּ a *way* (that) *they do not know*, Isa. xlii. 16, Ps. vii. 6; יוֹרֶנּוּ בְּדֶרֶךְ יִבְחָר *he teaches him* concerning the *way* which *he should choose, i.e.* shows him which way he should choose (a very condensed mode of connecting thoughts), Ps. xxv. 12 (xxxii. 8), xlix. 15, Prov. vi. 16, xxiii. 8, Job xxviii. 1, 1 Chron. xxix. 3; also when the accusative is to be regarded as more freely subordinated, as in אֵי זֶה הַדֶּרֶךְ יֵחָלֶק אוֹר *where* is *the way* where *light divides*, Job xxxviii. 19, 24, xxi. 27, Ps. xxvii. 7, Isa. xxxi. 6; *I throw down before him a stumbling-block, whereby* הוּא יָמוּת *hé may die*, Ezek. iii. 20.

(3.) When the reference is to a closely subordinated idea; as, הַדֶּרֶךְ יֵלְכוּ בָהּ *the way* wherein *they must go, i.e.* in which way they are to go, Ex. xviii. 20, Ps. xix. 5 (following the better reading שָׁם), xciii. 19 (see § 293*e*).

It is seldom that the noun stands at a considerable distance from its relative clause, whether this has אֲשֶׁר or not, as, Ps.

[1] [Cf. the omission of the relative in English also, as exemplified by the instances given hereafter.]

xlix. 12, 14, xvi. 4, cf. Isa. xxix. 22, Job iv. 2, Zeph. iii. 19. The same case, properly speaking, occurs when reference has just been made to the object by means of its suffix; as, *on it* (viz. the altar) *which was before Jahve*, 1 Kings ix. 25. If stronger reference be made by this means (see § 309*c*) to the person, so that there arises, as a preliminary, a kind of suspension and break in the discourse, then אֵת, as the sign of the accusative, may be placed before אֲשֶׁר (see § 333*a*), as Zech. xii. 10, cf. Eccles. x. 15; but this sign may also be used in such a construction as is presented in Lev. xxii. 15, Jer. xxxviii. 9.

b. The אֲשֶׁר, however, especially in certain cases, may be dispensed with, either constantly, or at least more conveniently than in other instances. This closer construction is invariably adopted after certain incomplete propositions; thus, after מִי הוּא *who* is *he* (that) . . . ? *i.e.* who? (see § 331*b*, and the similar constructions given in § 286*h*), as, רֹב אָדָם יִקְרָא *there are many people* who *proclaim, i.e.* many a one proclaims, Prov. xx. 6, or, רַב הַפֶּגֶר הִשְׁלִיךְ הַס there are *enough of the corpses* which people *have silently cast forth, i.e.* corpses enough have been silently cast forth, Amos viii. 3. Moreover, the prepositions כְּ, לְ, and others, instead of putting themselves before the whole sentence in a more full and explicit manner by means of a relative particle (thus, כַּאֲשֶׁר, etc., as shown in § 222*a*), may merely subordinate a single noun in such a way that the rest of the statement is joined, in the form of a relative sentence, but without אֲשֶׁר, to that noun; as in the example כַּבְּהֵמוֹת נִדְמוּ already given in § *a;* לְשׁוֹאָה־תָבוֹא *against devastation coming from afar, i.e.* for the time when it comes, Isa. x. 3; אַחַר עוֹרִי נִקְּפוּ *after my skin* which *they have removed, i.e.* after my skin has been removed, Job xix. 26, cf. Hab. ii. 14, Isa. xi. 9. Lastly, [818] the shorter construction is, on the whole, more convenient when the relative proposition stands in a more necessary connection with the main sentence; as in the case יוֹרֶנּוּ בְּדֶרֶךְ יִבְחַר already cited in § *a*. Cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* ii. p. 238 f.

c. Rarely, and only in poetry, is the complementary proposition at once, and more sharply, subordinated to a noun put in the construct state (cf. § 286*i*), so that the second sentence also is as brief as possible, and without the relative particle;

as, יִתְרַת עָשָׂה the *gain* that *he made*, Jer. xlviii. 36 (on the other hand, יִתְרָה is placed in a looser construction in Isa. xv. 7); חֲמַת לָמוֹ the *burning wrath* which is *to them*, which they have, Ps. lviii. 5; אַדִּירֵי כָּל־חֶפְצִי בָם *the excellent ones in whom my whole pleasure is*, Ps. xvi. 3. The construct state, however, also interchanges with the article joined to the absolute state, in the second member of a verse, Job iii. 3; or is followed by the relative particle זֶה or זוּ (see § 331*b*), Isa. xliii. 21, Ps. civ. 8. On the other hand, the construct state is much employed in cases where אֲשֶׁר quite briefly, like an accusative, sets forth general relations of place, time, or kind and manner; for, the noun to which the relative particle corresponds being quickly combined with it in the construct state, the relative itself takes a greater share in the meaning of the noun, and becomes more closely intertwined with the whole adverbial expression. Accordingly, though the form of expression first used is בִּמְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר *in the place that*, i.e. *in what place*, or simply our *where*, Lev. iv. 24, 33, Jer. xxii. 12, עַל דְּבַר אֲשֶׁר (see § 286*i*), yet the construction afterwards becomes still closer, when possible, by the noun before אֲשֶׁר being also put in the accusative; as, מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר *what place, where*, Eccles. xi. 3, Esth. iv. 3, viii. 17; and יוֹם אֲשֶׁר *what day, i.e.* Lat. *quando*, Deut. iv. 10, Gen. xxxix. 20.

d. Such mere nouns of time and place, however, may also be put in the construct state, by themselves, without אֲשֶׁר, at the head of the relative sentence, not merely in poetry, but also in ordinary prose; and in consequence of this construction a certain neatness of expression is imparted to the discourse; as, בְּרֵאשִׁית *at the beginning when* . . ., an expression which is equivalent to *when first* . . ., Gen. i. 1, and תְּחִלַּת, Hos. i. 2, in the same meaning;[1] יוֹם *the day that* . . ., or, *on the day when*, Ps. lvi. 4, lxxxviii. 2; עֵת *at the time when* . . ., Ps. iv. 8, xc. 15, Job vi. 17, 2 Chron. xxiv. 11 (cf. also the cases cited above, at p. 85), קִרְיַת *the city where* . . ., Isa. xxix. 1. And that, as required by the law stated in § 306*c*, the leading word may then also stand first in the relative clause, is shown by such cases as Ps. iv. 8, Gen. xxii. 14.

[1] On the question whether, in Gen. i. 1, we should, following v. 1, read בְּרֹא for בָּרָא, cf. *Götting. Gel. Anz.* 1866, p. 186 f.

Conversely, in diffuse, ordinary discourse, לְמִן הַיּוֹם *since the day*, with the article (contrary to § 290*a*, cf. *d*), is placed before an infinitive, like לֶכְתִּי *my going*, because this may equally mean, *that I go* (*went*), and is thus (see §§ 331*c*, 332*a*) equivalent to a brief relative sentence, 2 Sam. xix. 25, [819] Ex. ix. 18.[1] Accordingly, מִשָּׁם may in like manner signify *whence* (from which place), as in the ancient poetic style, Gen. xlix. 24.

333*a*. 2. The relative has the force even of a *noun*, being used instead of any other and more definite word; in such a case, מִי or מָה most naturally suggests itself (see § 331*b*). But אֲשֶׁר also may be employed in this way, like an adjective raised to the position and power of a noun, without, however, coinciding in idea with either of these; *e.g.* אֲשֶׁר עַל הַבָּיִת *who* (*i.e.* he who) is *over the house*, viz. the definite person whom we call house-steward, manager. Every relative in such a position retains, indeed, all its own peculiar modes of construction with that sentence which it begins (see § 331*c*); but, besides, though without detriment to its connection with its own sentence, it is directly interwoven with another, and thus in fact hangs midway between two propositions.[2] Hence, it may likewise form the subject of the other sentence; as, מֵת אֲשֶׁר עַל הַבָּיִת *he is dead who* was placed *over the house;* or it may be subordinated as an object, and, as such, marked externally by אֵת (see p. 36), as, דַּע אֵת־אֲשֶׁר יִקְרֶה *know* that *which shall happen*, Dan. x. 14; *anoint* אֵת־אֲשֶׁר אֹמַר him *whom I shall name*, 1 Sam. xvi. 3. In the latter case, if the relative particle be likewise the accusative in its own sentence, it might be followed by its appropriate suffix (see § 331*c*); but, in accordance with the spirit prevailing in the Hebrew language, this is no longer necessary, since אֵת sufficiently indicates the accusative.[3] Or,

[1] Here the Massorah forbids the Mappiq in the final ה of הִוָּסְדָה, which, however, can be nothing else than the Inf. Niphal with the suffix (see § 247*d*).

[2] Hence other languages also, particularly modern ones, express this double connection—before and behind—by means of the demonstrative [or personal] pronoun and the relative; thus, *he* (his, him) *who* . . .

[3] On the other hand, the words in Deut. xviii. 20 are rather to be taken thus: *the prophet who utters, as a word* (*i.e.* as an oracular message) *in my name* אֵת אֲשֶׁר *that which I have not commanded him.*

it may be dependent on a word in the construct state, or on a preposition; as, לַאֲשֶׁר עַל הַבַּיִת אֱמֹר *say to* him *who is over the house,* עַל אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה *on account of* that *which he did,* Jer. xv. 4. Hence, at the beginning of the double sentence, one may say, עִם אֲשֶׁר תִּמְצָא *with whom* (whomsoever) *thou shalt find . . . let him die!* Gen. xxxi. 32; but also אֲשֶׁר תִּמָּצֵא אִתּוֹ, Gen. xliv. 9, 10.[1] Since, then, אֲשֶׁר, as an accusative, also contains a general reference to place, time, kind, and manner (see § 331*c*, 3), we can understand how עַל אֲשֶׁר may signify *whither* (*i.e.* to the place which), 1 Kings xviii. 12, בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר *wherever* (*i.e.* in every place in which), 2 Sam. vii. 7, and how the simple אֲשֶׁר can stand for our *as, how,* Ex. xiv. 13, xviii. 9, 1 Kings iii. 12, 13, xiv. 19, cf. xi. 27, 1 Chron. xiii. 6 (on this passage, however, cf. 2 Sam. vi. 2), Deut. vii. 19, Job ix. 5, [820] Zeph. iii. 7, Ps. xii. 5, xvi. 7, xxxi. 8, cxxxix. 15. If, now, it is at the same time dependent on an active verb, it may be preceded in this, as in every other case (see § 277*d*), by אֵת; as, Deut. ix. 7, xxix. 15, 1 Sam. ii. 22, xxiv. 11, 19, 1 Kings xix. 1, 2 Kings viii. 5, Esth. v. 11. Similarly, אֵת אֲשֶׁר means exactly our *when,* as in 1 Kings viii. 31 (in the parallel passage, 2 Chron. vi. 22, it is explained by אִם *if*), and so אֲשֶׁר, as in 1 Kings viii. 33, 38. We may say that, in such cases, אֲשֶׁר is not so much ὅτι (which is rather כִּי, see § 336) as ὡς.

b. As the relative may be omitted in the first case mentioned in § 332*c*, so it may also be dropped in this; but it is only certain poets who employ the short, neat style, that allow themselves to exercise so much brevity here. Moreover, it is only when the discourse has already been begun in such a way that the idea of completion, or relation, though concealed, is plainly enough contained in the context, that its outward indication is unnecessary. Hence, the relative is most readily omitted after a noun in the construct state, because the force of the construct state already contains the necessity of subordinating the whole of what follows, like a noun, whether it actually has the form of a noun, or is merely regarded as such; so that the relative particle, which invests it with the

[1] The liberties which the Hebrew takes in such cases, by prefixing the אֵת, or a preposition, are much less easily practised in the cognate languages.

appearance and character of a noun, may now be omitted. Moreover, in the relative sentence, the verb (or its equivalent) usually comes in at the very beginning; so that, in every way, there arises the sharp antithesis of two ideas which are evidently separate, and connected merely through the higher meaning which pervades the whole. Thus, מְקוֹם לֹא יָדַע אֵל *the place* of him who *knows not God*, Job xviii. 21; בִּידֵי לֹא אוּכַל קוּם *in the hand of* him whom *I cannot withstand*, Lam. i. 14, Job xix. 16, Ps. lxxxi. 6; or after prepositions (which comes to the same thing), לְלֹא שָׁאָלוּ *to* those who *did not ask*, כְּלֹא הָיוּ *like* those who *were not* (indefinitely), Isa. lxv. 1, lv. 2, Jer. ii. 8, 11, Obad. ver. 16, Ezek. xiii. 3, and (in accordance with § 286*g*) לְלֹא כֹחַ *to* him who has *not power*, Job xxvi. 2, 3; שְׁלַח בְּיַד תִּשְׁלָח *send by* (for the Lat. *manû*, by the hand of, is, like a preposition, also equivalent to *per*) him whom *Thou wilt send*, Ex. iv. 13; אַשְׁרֵי תִּבְחַר *happy* (see § 258*c*) is the man whom *Thou choosest*, Ps. lxv. 5, Prov. viii. 32; בִּלְעֲדֵי אֶחֱזֶה הוֹרֵנִי what is *beyond* that which *I see* (*i.e.* what I do not see) *teach thou me*, Job xxxiv. 32. Another special reason for the omission in the case of לֹא (where it occurs most frequently), is the impossibility of construing this negative with a participle (see § 320*c*). In prose, however, the omission of the relative is almost entirely confined to the Books of the Chronicles; Neh. viii. 10, 1 Chron. xv. 12, xxix. 3, 2 Chron. i. 4, xvi. 9, xxx. 18, 19 (where the two verses have been infelicitously separated). On the employment of the relative with כֹּל, cf. Gen. xxxix. 4–6.

But this omission further takes place when the idea of the *object* is included in what precedes: *hell carries off* חָטָאוּ those who *sinned*, Job xxiv. 19, xxxiv. 32, Jer. viii. 13, Hab. ii. 6. Nay, even when the meaning of the whole requires that the *subject* shall be understood as contained in the relative, its omission is not quite impossible,—partly when this subject at the same time forms the one half of the larger proposition, as in Prov. xiii. 1, 8, Isa. lxiii. 19 (לֹא being also employed in every one of these cases), Job xviii. 15*a*, Isa. xli. 24,—but partly also when it is the subject of the accessory proposition (and this is the boldest construction); as, יְהוָה אֲהֵבוֹ he *whom Jahve loves* performs his pleasure, Isa. xlviii. 14 (for [821] אָהוּב יְהוָה, because יהוה is meant to be emphasized); *those thirsted*

not בַּחֳרָבוֹת הוֹלִיכָם *whom He led through deserts*, Isa. xlviii. 21,[1] Judg. v. 14, Ezek. xi. 21.[2]

334*a*. 3. Though the relative stands first (according to § 333), it is afterwards more fully explained, as to its contents, in the course of the sentence, by a noun which is subordinated in the accusative (see § 287*h*). This is essentially the same thing as when, in Arabic, the compound مَا-مِنْ or مَنْ-مِنْ is used,[3] or when we would say, in German, *was-von* . . . or *was für* . . . [i.e. *what kind of* . . . *what sort of*]. In this way there is formed a somewhat more general idea than would be presented if the noun stood quite alone, immediately at the beginning of the sentence; thus, *what of evil*, i.e. *what kind of evil*. This turn, however, because of its convenient brevity, is much more largely employed in Arabic, and is a circumlocution for something like the German *derjenige* . . . *welcher*, i.e. *such a one as* . . . In Hebrew, this conveniently brief mode of expression is still rare; as, אֲשֶׁר הָיָה דְבַר־יְהוָה *the kind of word of Jehovah that came, i.e.* the kind of words that came, Jer. xiv. 1, xlvi. 1, xlvii. 1, xlix. 34, Ezek. xii. 25, Amos v. 1; אֲשֶׁר־אִשָּׁה *which* (*i.e.* what kind of) *woman*, more in the sense of *when a woman*, Num. v. 29 (cf. ver. 30), Lev. iv. 22; cf. the examples given in § 287*h*, at the end. Further, it is an Aramaic construction to use the relative in a new sentence, and before a genitive, as a means of referring briefly to a noun previously mentioned; as, וַאֲשֶׁר לְטוֹבִיָּה *and that* [viz. the letter] *of Tobijah*, Neh. vi. 17.

b. In all these three possible modes of placing the relative

[1] Such is the proper way in which this passage is to be understood.

[2] Hence, מֵעָלָיו in Prov. xiv. 14 also might mean *from* (by) that which is incumbent *upon him*, *i.e.* his duty; in Job xxiv. 9, we might even, after the simple וְ *and*, read *what is* upon the poor (viz. his clothing) they take as a pledge; and, without admitting the necessity of such an explanation as is given in § 174*g*, Job viii. 7 might be regarded as meaning, *thy future* will be something that *greatly increases*. But this would be the very utmost possible here; the sharp juxtaposition of the sentences would be wanting, at least in Job xxiv. 9; and in Prov. xiv. 14, the correctness of the reading may be doubted.

[3] The Arabic, in such cases, likes to smooth the construction by means of مِنْ *of*, as it also uses مَا-مِنْ for the cases mentioned in § 326*c*.

pronoun, the words of the sentence which belongs to it are arranged in exactly the same calm order of succession that is to be expected in accordance with § 307. Yet even here also, we may observe the greater freedom which characterizes the Hebrew; in Ps. lxix. 27, the subject of the relative sentence is, for the sake of emphasis, even retracted and placed before אֲשֶׁר: thus, there is evinced a freedom in the arrangement of words which reminds us of Greek and Latin, but cannot be imitated in German [or English], and is at least possible in Hebrew, though rarely exercised.

[822] 335*a*. III. The *participle*, or even the *adjective*, contains in itself the idea of a verb used as a relative clause in giving descriptions (see § 168*b* [Ges. § 134]); accordingly, wherever it can be employed, it forms a briefer expression for the finite verb with a relative (cf. § 331*b*). The participle may be used in this way by itself, when, in prose, it receives prominence by taking the article, as, הַיָּרֵא *the fearing* one, *i.e. he who is afraid, ὁ φοβούμενος*, Ex. ix. 20; it may also be put in even a looser construction, thus, הַיָּשָׁר הֹלֵךְ *he who walks uprightly*, which is the same as אֲשֶׁר יָשָׁר הָלַךְ, Mic. ii. 7 (see § 297*a*); this combination may also be found in the predicate, as, *who* are הַהֹלְכִים *the going* ones, *i.e.* who are those that go? Ex. x. 8. Or, it may be attached to a preceding substantive, in which case, even after an indefinite noun, the more loosely construed participle (or corresponding adjective) may easily assume the article, by which it is more firmly connected [with the noun]; as, נֶפֶשׁ הַחַיָּה *soul the living, i.e.* soul that lives, Gen. i. 21, 28, ix. 10 (cf. vers. 12, 15, where the article, in itself unnecessary, is omitted); on the same principle, also, cases like Ps. lxii. 4, xix. 11, and conversely, Ps. civ. 25, are explained. But, inasmuch as the participle already contains in itself the power of indicating the person to whom it relates, even in prose, and after a definite noun, the article need not be joined with it, as in 1 Kings xi. 8, 2 Kings x. 6; hence, in poetry, אֱוִילִים may signify *those who are foolish*, even when there is no preceding noun, Ps. cvii. 17; on the other hand, in the case of טוֹב, Jer. xl. 4, 5, the article is omitted at most, perhaps, on account of the following וְהַיָּשָׁר.

b. Since the participle thus envelops the finite verb within the idea of the personal reference, it surrenders the distinction,

contained in the verb, between the two kinds of time (see § 168*a* [Ges. § 134]); hence, according to the meaning and the connection of the discourse, in any case, it may stand for the perfect as well as the imperfect. It is readily used in the sense of the perfect, as, מִי הוּא הַצָּד *who* is *he* that *has hunted?* Gen. xxvii. 33, 1 Sam. iv. 8, xi. 9, Prov. viii. 9; hence, also, for the perfect of the future, when the future has already been treated of, Ps. xxii. 32, cii. 19. But it is also used, quite correctly, especially for our immediate future (see § 168*c*); as, הַהֹלְכִים, in the passage quoted in § *a* from Ex. x. 8, which properly means *those who are about to go, οἱ πορευσόμενοι,* cf. ver. 9; and hence it must further serve, in narration, to indicate the future of the preterite, as, חֲתָנָיו לֹקְחֵי בְנֹתָיו *his sons-in-law who were to take* (to have taken) *his daughters,* Gen. xix. 14, Ex. xi. 5 (cf. 2 Kings iii. 27, where it has been avoided), 2 Kings xi. 2 (2 Chron. xxii. 11), Judg. xiii. 8; גָּדֵר הַדְּחוּיָה *a wall that is to be knocked down,* Ps. lxii. 4.

c. If, now, we gather together all the possible constructions that have been explained in §§ 331–335, it is easy to see that, in Hebrew, there may be formed an exceedingly long series of relative clauses, which collectively, as if in one continued chain, depend on their chief noun previously mentioned; thus, all the clauses in Ps. civ. 2–23 are attached, at their starting-points, to the name *Jahve* in ver. 1, by *who,* which is always mentally repeated.[1] It is also evident, [823] from § 331*d*, how readily the first or second person may be interchanged with the third; see Ps. xci. 1, 2.

(2.) *Dependent Relative Sentences.*

336*a*. In accordance with a deep and correct instinct exhibited by the original languages, ideas, which may at any point be taken into the main sentence, are interwoven with it in the closest manner; so that there is, so far, much less need for our [conjunction] *that* in Hebrew. For instance, if one were to say, *it is vain for you . . .,* or, *how long* is it *in your heart*

[1] This fact has been further established by the explanations which I [Ewald] have now given on the Song, and on so many other passages of the Old Testament.

(*i.e.* are you pleased) . . ., then, if *e.g.* a particular kind of habit or custom is meant, this is immediately attached by means of the participle (see § 168*c*), which, therefore, is closely referred to the *you,* and loosely subordinated to it, as in Ps. cxxvii. 2, Jer. xxiii. 26; while modern languages, in a much colder manner, use the mere infinitive with *to,* instead. (Cf. a similar phenomenon in § 325*b, c.*)

If, however, a thought is merely to be gathered up, and referred to something else, the particle (the relative conjunction) כִּי *that,* is used for the purpose. Sometimes, indeed, אֲשֶׁר is employed instead, as a neuter, *quod;* but this is more of an Aramaic construction, and restricted to certain writings, like Ecclesiastes and Chronicles. In pure Hebrew, the difference between the two is always this—that the idea formed by כִּי is more of a wholly inanimate, dependent, and (as it were) imperfect kind, while אֲשֶׁר forms an idea of a more complete and vigorous character.[1] Hence,—

(1.) When our [conjunction], *that,* may be regarded as equivalent to the *subject,* it prefers to be expressed by אֲשֶׁר; as, . . . עֹד אֲשֶׁר *still* (with emphasis laid on the word to make it prominent) it is the case *that* . . ., Zech. viii. 20; טוֹב אֲשֶׁר *good* is it *that* . . ., Eccles. v. 4.

(2.) On the contrary, כִּי is properly used after a verb, to indicate its *object;* as, הִגִּיד כִּי *he told that . . .;* I trust כִּי *that he shall* . . ., Job xxxix. 12; *he said* (or *commanded*) כִּי יְשֻׁבוּן *that they should return,* Job xxxvi. 10, the tense and mood of the verb in the relative sentence being always regulated in accordance with the sense of the discourse in each particular case. With verbs of *seeing,*[2] however, and all others of a similar character, that can have two objects (see § 284*b*), these may be subordinated in a more compact manner, corresponding to the Latin construction of the accusative with the infinitive. According to the first and simplest mode, the arrangement is such that mention is first made of the immediate object, or the whole thing that is seen, and afterwards

[1] [On the use of אֲשֶׁר as a conjunction, see, further, Sperling, *Die Nota Relationis im Hebräischen*, p. 41 ff.]

[2] In this case, however, there is also the possible construction εἶδον ὅτι, Rev. vi. 1, 12; عَلِمَ حِينَ, Sura xxi. 40.

of any property perceived in it; as, *he saw the light that* it was *good,* instead of which we say, more tersely, *he saw that the light was good,* Gen. i. 4, vi. 2, Ex. ii. 2, 1 Kings v. 17, and still more fully, xi. 28; also, *dicite justum* כִּי טוֹב *quod bonus,* i.e. *esse bonum,* where [824] greater prominence is assigned to the subject of the subordinate sentence, Isa. iii. 10, cf. Eccles. viii. 17, and similarly in a subordinated question, Eccles. iii. 21. But, further, instead of this construction with כִּי, which is always somewhat more loose (see § 284*b*), the subject and predicate of the proposition which is to form the object may also be more strictly subordinated together by the one active verb, and this in a twofold manner. (*a*) If the proposition to be subordinated expresses, by itself, a state or condition, the predicate, if a verb, is mostly put in the participial form, and in the perfect only when the sense requires this (see § 284*b*); it is very seldom that, with כִּי, the imperfect is found, in the sense of the past imperfect [*was doing*], Gen. xlviii. 17, Job xxxi. 26. (*b*) If, however, the proposition to be subordinated expresses what is going to be, or ought to be done, it is rarely that the mere imperfect, without כִּי, is subordinated; as, מָה אַתֶּם אֹמְרִים אֶעֱשֶׂה *what do ye think* (that) *I should do* for you? 2 Sam. xxi. 4; *this is* אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה תַּעֲשׂוּ *what He commanded* that *ye should do,* Lev. ix. 6, and with לֹא *not,* Lam. i. 10; while sentences such as that in Ps. lvii. 3, 4, *I cry* (wish) *He may send* (*i.e.* that He may send), already exhibit a complete transition to the mode of construction in those explained at the end of § 347*b*.[1] Much more natural in this case is the infinitive, which, further, is mostly construed with לְ, so that there arises here a species of the Latin accusative with the infinitive; thus, the construction is followed in the case of asking and wishing; as, שָׁאַל אֶת־נַפְשׁוֹ לָמוּת *he wished that his soul should die* (where the ל with the infin. is more necessary to indicate the wish), 1 Kings xix. 4, Jonah iv. 8, cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 13; with verbs which signify permission and allowance, Num. xx. 21, Judg. xi. 20, exclamation or command, Jer. xxxvi. 9 (where the infin. precedes its subject). Nay, even verbs of knowing, hearing, seeing, and others of similar character, begin to avail

[1] Even the Syriac readily subordinates the imperfect in this case; as, ܫܒܩܬܢܝ ܐܡܘܬ *thou didst leave me to die.*

themselves of this more convenient mode of subordination by means of the infinitive; as, *they know not* לַעֲשׂוֹת רָע *that they do evil* (where the subordinate proposition does not take a new subject), Eccles. iv. 17, cf. Jer. xv. 15, 2 Sam. xviii. 29,[1] 1 Chron. xxix. 17. And inasmuch as an infinitive like the Lat. *esse* is unnecessary in conjunction with a more definite predicate, one may even say, *thou* [thyself] *hast taught them* to be עָלַיִךְ אַלֻּפִים לְרֹאשׁ *over thee* as *friends bearing rule*, Jer. xiii. 21, cf. vi. 6, Job xx. 4, 1 Kings xiv. 2, Ezek. xxiii. 20; *He gave him* לְחֶסֶד *for favour before him, i.e.* He caused him to find favour before him, Dan. i. 9; so also, still more involved constructions may be carried out, such as Eccles. vii. 22.

On the other hand, verbs of *fearing* (because the idea of avoiding, doing nothing, is associated with them) almost always [825] like to be construed with מִן before the infinitive, as, *timuit ne*, Judg. vi. 27, Gen. xlvi. 3; and an infinitive like *esse* may, as in the case previously mentioned, be omitted when any such preposition is used, provided the predicate can be clearly made out, as in Jer. xvii. 16, ii. 25. Yet (as in modern languages) even the feebler לְ *to*, may also be enough, in the case of such verbs, before the infinitive, Gen. xix. 30;[2] while the stronger חָלִילָה (see § 329*a*) always retains its מִן.

c. (3.) Both particles may be used when, by means of them, a preposition is made to serve as a conjunction (see § 222*a*). But, since several prepositions, without the [relative] conjunction, also stand immediately at the beginning of the sentence, becoming themselves conjunctions, we have always to discern, in each particular case, whether the relative conjunction is necessary or not. The very short prepositions בְּ and כְּ can never be without the support of אֲשֶׁר, and are never placed before כִּי; thus, בַּאֲשֶׁר *while, when*, and (of place) *where*, כַּאֲשֶׁר *sicut;* the prepositions עַל and אַחֲרֵי (or אַחַר, Jer. xli. 16)

[1] Here, in the very loose style of framing sentences already noticed under § 307*c*, the accusative depending on the subordinate verb is placed before it, and only after that is the primary accusative with את brought in; cf. Ewald's *History of the People of Israel*, vol. iii. p. 188 [English translation].

[2] This case, accordingly, is similar to that of adjectives used in comparisons (see § 317*b*), when, instead of מִן before the *infinitive* (see § 285*b*), there is merely used the feebler לְ; as, צָעִיר לִהְיוֹת *too little to be*, Mic. v. 1.

are rarely used by themselves as conjunctions, whereas עַד *until*, is more frequently employed as a conjunction, and to a more limited extent as a preposition; עֵקֶב כִּי or עֵקֶב אֲשֶׁר (seldom merely עֵקֶב) *because that*, אֶפֶס כִּי *except that, unless*, לְמַעַן *in order that*,—with or without אֲשֶׁר; on the other hand, פֶּן־ *lest, that . . . not*, and בְּטֶרֶם *before that*, which have become pure conjunctions, always remain without the [relative] connective particle. All the prepositions, of course, may subordinate the verb more briefly in the infinitive construct, and לְ can never become a conjunction through means of a relative particle.

337*a*. Here belong especially all simple propositions, introduced by particles, which indicate relation, and which, whether they precede or follow the main proposition, are always attached, or even inserted, in a mere loose fashion:—

1. Propositions which indicate some *special modification* or *consequence* of what is stated in the other, and which are introduced by the most convenient relative particle, the Latin *ut*, particularly in questions; as, *what incites thee* (so much) כִּי תַעֲנֶה *that thou repliest?* Job vi. 11, vii. 12, xv. 14, xvi. 3, iii. 12 (where the imperfect is applied even to past time), Ps. viii. 5, Ex. iii. 11; or in expressions of astonishment, *O that we had died in Egypt*, כִּי הוֹצֵאתֶם—*that* (instead) *ye have brought us out of Egypt*, Ex. xvi. 3, Gen. xxi. 7, 2 Kings v. 7, Jer. xviii. 14, 15. If the consequence be more loosely attached to what precedes, and if, accordingly, the connection must rather be indicated by such an expression as *so that*, then, instead of כִּי, there rather appears אֲשֶׁר (see § 333*a*), Eccles. vii. 21, Deut. xxviii. 27, 35, 51, 2 Kings ix. 37, Mal. iii. 19. The consequence, indeed, may also be expressed by the stronger וְ *ánd* (see § 342 ff.), and both modes of expression are, of course, closely connected in Hebrew; but the distinction between them is, that, when the two propositions are joined together by means of a relative particle, the consequence [826] is expressed in a far less smooth and even manner than is done when *ánd* is employed. More definite is כְּפִי (see § 221*a*) *to such a degree that*, Zech. ii. 4, but in other places also *inasmuch as*, Mal. ii. 9.

b. 2. Propositions used to indicate *purpose* and *intention*. When a preceding verb expresses causation, the simple *that*,

with the imperfect, is sufficient ; as, *God has caused* שֶׁיִּרְאוּ *that* people *should fear* Him, Eccles. iii. 14 ; וְעָשִׂיתִי אֵת־אֲשֶׁר תֵּלֵכוּ *so shall I cause that you go* (*ut eatis*), Ezek. xxxvi. 27, exactly in accordance with the construction explained in § 333*a*. If, however, the clause stands more loosely by itself, the mere infinitive with לְ *to do,* is sufficient to indicate a purpose,—whether the agent is thereby to be more exactly pointed out, as, לְתִתִּי for my giving, *i.e. that I might give,* 2 Sam. iv. 10, or not, as in Jer. xxxiii. 2, 2 Chron. xxvi. 15. If such a closer specification is wanting, and it is not more likely that the reference is to some other subject, the person of the infinitive is always that of the leading word mentioned.[1] Other expressions, however, which serve to convey the idea more definitely, are לְמַעַן *for purpose* (see 222*b*), and בַּעֲבוּר (§ 315*c*). These may be construed either as prepositions, meaning *because of, on account of,* in genuine Hebrew style, with the infinitive ;[2] or as conjunctions, in the sense of *in order that,* with the imperfect, as, בַּעֲבוּר תֵּדַע *ut cognoscas,* Ex. ix. 14, and in speaking of what is past, לְמַעַן תֵּדְעוּ *ut cognoscaretis,* Deut. xxix. 5 ;[3] however, יַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא is found in the sense of *in order that not, lest,* Ezek. xii. 12. To give greater prominence to the purpose, לְמַעַן may be construed with the *voluntative,* as, לְמַעַן אֲסַפְּרָה *that I may recount,* Ps. ix. 15 ; and, with still greater precision, לְ may be prefixed to בַּעֲבוּר, which is then put before the infinitive (see § 315*c*). If the purpose is easily inferred from what precedes, it may be sufficient to employ the briefer construction by means of אֲשֶׁר simply (like our [German and English] *that*) with the imperfect, as Gen. xi. 7, Josh. iii. 7, Deut. iv. 40 (where,

[1] This remark comes to be of importance, *e.g.*, in Ps. civ. 26, where the meaning certainly is, that God has created the leviathan *to play with it.* This representation, which seems so strange at first sight, is accounted for by the circumstance that the poet has before his mind the words of Job xl. 29, or rather refers to them as quite well known : a man may well avoid playing with him, but not his Maker.

[2] But never with the *perfect ;* in Josh. iv. 24 (as I noticed so far back as 1826), יְרָאתָם must necessarily be read instead of יְרָאתֶם, which has now crept into the text, but is quite incorrect.

[3] But since we must suppose that the imperfect originally stood in the voluntative, לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר, construed with the simple imperfect, and dropping the accessory idea of purpose, may signify *with regard to this, that . . .,* Gen. xviii. 19.

with greater perspicuity, וּלְמַעַן is afterwards employed). And after a verb of *motion*, where a purpose is already indicated, the mere imperfect even is sometimes enough, as in Job xvi. 8, xxx. 28, Hab. iii. 16, Ps. lxxxviii. 11, cii. 14. Cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* § 618.

To indicate the contrary, *that not*, there is used אֲשֶׁר לֹא with the imperfect, like the Lat. *ut ne*, or simply *ne*, Gen. xi. 7; also (at least in poetry), a sentence of this kind may be closely attached merely by אַל (see § 320*a*), Ps. xix. 14, or its equivalent, בַּל, Isa. xiv. 21. [827] But, while לְ is extensively employed to indicate purpose and intention, לְבִלְתִּי with the infinitive (see § 332*b*) is frequently sufficient to mark the negative;[1] or, still more briefly, מִן (see § 217*b*) with the infinitive, Job xxxiv. 30; but מִן may also be used simply with a noun as the predicate, if the preceding, closely connected verb leaves no doubt as to the meaning, *e.g. Jahve hath rejected thee* מִמֶּלֶךְ *that* thou mayest *not* be *king*, 1 Sam. xv. 23, 1 Kings xv. 13; מִן is employed as a conjunction, in the sense of *that not*, with the imperfect, only in Deut. xxxiii. 11, poetically.[2] Much more definite, however, is פֶּן־ (from the root פָּנָה, *to turn aside*), which is construed with the imperfect as a brief expression for *that not, lest;* this particle, however, is also used, like the Lat. *ne*, by itself [*i.e.* without indicating that the sentence which it introduces is dependent on another], in such a way that it almost describes merely the dread of a misfortune, rather than the wish to avoid it, as if it were said (*I fear*) *there might* . . ., Gen. iii. 22, Ex. xiii. 17; frequently also, as it were in exclamation, *O that . . . not . . . !* Prov. v. 6, Job xxxvi. 18; and hence, with the perfect to indicate fear for an action which may almost certainly be expected to have actually been accomplished already,—like μή,—as in 2 Kings ii. 16, x. 23, 2 Sam. xx. 6. The expression which, in the Aramaizing style,

[1] According to the points, this word, in Jer. xxiii. 14, xxvii. 18, would be used even with the perfect; probably, however, we must read the *imperfect* instead, the י at the beginning of the verb-form having been dropped, after the final י of the connecting particle. For אָכֵן in 1 Kings xi. 2, we must perhaps read פֶּן.

[2] It would be arbitrary to suppose that we must read פֶּן instead; in Syriac, also, ܡܢ ܕ, and in modern Hebrew מִשֶּׁ· *that not*, are used with a following imperfect.

most closely corresponds to this in meaning is אֲשֶׁר לָמָּה, Dan. i. 10, or שַׁלָּמָּה, Cant. i. 7, *O that he would but not . . . ! that not.*[1]

c. 3. Sentences of *time* are formed—

(*a*) Most simply by כִּי *as,* or כַּאֲשֶׁר (a more poetic word is כְּמוֹ, Gen. xix. 15) *when,* Lat. *quum,* describing the occurrence of an event (cf. § 221*a*). These are used with reference to an action that has once happened (like the German *wie, als*), as well as to the present and future, in which case the Lat. *quum* (Ger. *wann*) is employed, but not Lat. *si* (Eng. *if,* Ger. *wenn*), Job v. 21, Ps. xlix. 16, lxxiii. 21, 22. But they are also used of duration in time past (*when* being in that case equivalent to *as often as*), with the imperfect (see § 136*c*); or, because this verbal form gradually comes to be less and less used for continuance in the past, with the perfect, 2 Sam. vi. 13. The word has no influence on the tense of the verb: it is followed even by a circumstantial-clause with the participle, for the immediate future, in Num. xxxiii. 51, xxxiv. 2 (see § 306*c*), or with the imperfect, for the [828] present, in Ps. xi. 3, Job xxxviii. 41. It is very seldom that כְּ, as a preposition, is put in immediate construction with the participle, for the preterite of *duration* (see § 168*c*), Gen. xxxviii. 29 (cf. the participle with כְּעֵת in Jer. ii. 17). There also require to be noticed the abbreviated expressions כָּעֵת מָחָר, prop. *at the time to-morrow, i.e.* when it is to-morrow, 1 Sam. ix. 16, and כָּעֵת חַיָּה *at the time reviving, i.e.* when the year shall have been renewed, in the next year, or rather, spring,[2] Gen. xviii. 10. The simple אֲשֶׁר (see § 333*a*) is sometimes employed instead of כִּי; cf. 1 Kings viii. 33 with 2 Chron. vi. 24. כָּעֵת which, by itself, may mean *at that time, then* (if it were so, we would be . . .), Judg. xxi. 22, is also used, in relation to something else, for the very definite *then when . . .,* Num. xxiii. 23, Job xxxix. 18; and the article may then be used or not, just as in the cases mentioned in § 332*d*.

[1] For, since ܠܡܐ simply, also occurs with the imperfect in the sense of *O that he would but not!* and indicates dissuasion merely in a somewhat more lively manner than דְּלָא (see Lagarde's *Analecta Syriaca*, pp. 13, 19), it is better to regard the אֲשֶׁר as superadded merely for the purpose of showing that what follows is not dependent on a preceding idea of fear.

[2] An exactly corresponding expression is ܠܡܦܢܝ; see the *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissensch.* x. p. 86 f.

(*b*) בַּאֲשֶׁר *in that, when* (Ger. *indem*), has more the sense of *inasmuch as, because,*—the idea of time passing over into that of causation (cf. § 222*c*). The purely temporal *when, while,* is contained in the infinitive construct with בְּ, Ps. iv. 2; and, that it differs from the simple כְּ perhaps only in the same way as *when* differs from *as* (Ger. *da* and *wie*), is most clearly seen from passages in which both occur together, as in 1 Kings xvi. 11. More definite in meaning is עוֹד *still, yet,*[1] which is found in circumstantial clauses with the participle, Job i. 16 (see § 341*c*); regarding עַד *whilst,* see § 217*e*; בְּעוֹד (see § 222*c*) *as long as,* with a circumstantial clause, 2 Sam. xii. 22, and in the same way בְּכָל־עֵת אֲשֶׁר *so long as,* Esth. v. 13. The poetic construction בְּעֵת means *in time that,* i.e. *as soon as,* Job vi. 17, 2 Chron. xx. 22, xxiv. 11, xxix. 27; בְּלֹא *without* [followed in English by a participial noun; Ger. *ohne dass,* followed by the finite verb], Lam. iv. 14.

(*c*) טֶרֶם[2] *not yet,* is, in accordance with its fundamental meaning, directly construed with the imperfect as the mark of what is incomplete, whether the discourse treats of the present or the past (see § 136*b*); it stands too, for the most part, in a circumstantial clause, preceded by the subject, Gen. ii. 5, 1 Sam. iii. 3, Josh. ii. 8; and, though it may also occur without previous mention of the subject, if this be easily understood, as in טֶרֶם תֵּדַע *thou dost not yet know,* it is always construed as a circumstantial clause (see § 341), Gen. xix. 4. It may also, however, be more briefly subordinated to a preceding sentence, in the same way as our [conjunction] *before,* Ex. xii. 34, Josh. iii. 1; but this subordination is more definitely and generally expressed by means of בְּטֶרֶם, 2 Kings ii. 9, Jer. i. 5; it is combined with לֹא (see § 323*a*) in Zeph. ii. 2. Only very rarely does it appear with the perfect, in reference to past time, [829] Gen. xxiv. 15 (cf. ver. 45),

[1] This particle, though merely in an antique form, and not understood by later generations, has also been preserved in the Arabic, as, عَوْضُ, particularly in the expression عَوْضَ العائضين *the tarrying of those who tarry, i.e.* so long as people live, *Hamâsa,* p. 271, 6–8.

[2] The proper meaning is probably *freshness, novelty, beginning,* the word being a contraction of טְרוֹם, Ruth iii. 14, *Kethib,* from the root טָרָה (see § 163*g*).

Ps. xc. 3, 1 Sam. iii. 7,—just in the same way as עַד־לֹא *while . . . not yet*, Prov. viii. 26 (cf. ver. 25), and the Aramaic קַדְמַת *ere, before*, Ps. cxxix. 6. מִטֶּרֶם with the infinitive, Hag. ii. 15, is a compound like מִנֶּגֶד (see § 218*c*). Moreover, לִפְנֵי with an infinitive following, also means our [conjunction] *before*, 2 Sam. iii. 13; in circumstantial clauses, however (see § 341*a*), even לֹא alone, with the perfect, may signify *not yet*, with our pluperfect, Jer. xxxvii. 4; and עוֹדֶנּוּ לֹא with the imperfect may signify, *while he had not yet done*, Jer. xl. 5.

(*d*) עַד *until*, with the infinitive construct, or the finite verb, as, עַד אֲשֶׁר *until that . . .*, 2 Sam. xvii. 13, עַד לְ־ *until it* (they, etc.) *became* (see § 315*c*), occurs only in 1 Chron. xii. 22, 2 Chron. xvi. 12. With the representation of the end, or terminus, that of the *purpose* or *intention* readily associates itself; *until that* = *in order that*, Job xxxii. 11; hence, in cases where the meaning of time predominates, it may also be construed with the *voluntative*, Lam. iii. 50, and, in narratives, with the imperfect in a preteritive sense, like *donec pervenirem*, Josh. x. 13, Ps. lxxiii. 17, Eccles. ii. 3, 2 Chron. xxix. 34;[1] עַד אֲשֶׁר לֹא, *πρὶν ἄν*, is even joined with the voluntative, Eccles. xii. 2, 6, like עַד אַרְגִּיעָה *until I move my eyes, i.e.* for a moment, Prov. xii. 19, instead of which we also find כִּי אַרְגִּיעָה *that I move*, Jer. xlix. 19, l. 44. The opposite of this mode of expression is עַד אִם *till if . . .*, with the *perfect* (see § 355*b*), fixing a *definite* limit in the future, or, more briefly, עַד, with the same force, 2 Kings vii. 3.

(*e*) אַחַר *after* [as a conjunction, Ger. *nachdem*], *after that . . .*, mostly with the infinitive, more rarely with the finite verb (see § 336*c*); and, curiously, also אַחֲרֵי כֵן *after such, i.e.* afterwards, is used again for [the conjunction] *after*, 2 Sam. xxiv. 10 (cf. אָכֵן, § 105*d*).

מֵאָז or מִן אָז *from then* (that time) *that*, i.e. *since*[2] [as a conjunction, Ger. *seitdem*], with the infinitive construct, or a noun, like [the preposition] *since* [Ger. *seit*], because אָז (see § 103*e*) refers more than the mere מִן to previous *time;* hence it is construed in either of these ways (see § 222*c*), Ps. lxxvi. 8, Ex. iv. 10, or with the finite verb, Ex. v. 23, Jer. xliv.

[1] Like ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ in Coptic; see Ewald's *Sprachw. Abhandl.* i. § 37.

[2] With this مُنْذُ, مُذْ exactly corresponds.

18. But מִן alone more briefly expresses the same meaning, Hag. ii. 16.

(*f*) מִדֵּי *as often as;* בְּדֵי, Job xxxix. 25, *always as soon as* (see § 209*c*); the same meaning is given in another way by כָּל־אֲשֶׁר,[1] Isa. xix. 17.

But, from all the simple sentences expressive of relation, there still remains a further step to

(3.) *Relative Discourse.*

338*a*. This is usually called *indirect speech*. The expression of discourse in this form is most necessary when a sentence, which was originally interrogative, depends on [830] a verb of hearing, or knowing and speaking: in this case, there still remain the same verb-forms that would be used in simple [*i.e.* direct] speech. Hence, when the future is treated of, the imperfect is mostly employed, as, *she stood afar off, to know* מַה־יֵּעָשֶׂה *what will* (*i.e.* would) *be done*, Ex. ii. 4 (cf. § 136*d*), or the participle for the immediate future, Judg. ii. 22. Where this constraint [regarding the employment of indirect speech] is not felt, the language, in its earlier stages, mostly seeks to retain the direct form of discourse, and in this it preserves much of its ancient simplicity; cf. even cases like 2 Sam. xiii. 32, 2 Kings ix. 25. And though the indirect form of discourse, with its greater compactness and finish, may also be employed, yet it is, for the most part, found only in short clauses, where it is not long sustained, and even then, it often stands quite abruptly; hence, it is only partly indirect: as, *I have heard concerning thee as follows: thou art an interpreter of dreams*, Gen. xli. 15; *let the nations know* אֱנוֹשׁ הֵמָּה (that) *they are men*, Ps. ix. 21, cf. 2 Chron. xxv. 19, Hos. vii. 2, Ps. lxiv. 6; hence, the discourse may fluctuate between the two possible modes of construction, as in 2 Sam. xiii. 16, but this specially occurs only after the change from one member of a verse to another, Job xix. 28, xxii. 17, xxxv. 3. Brief clauses, relating to the future, are also readily subordinated by means of the infinitive with לְ, whenever the verb in them refers to

[1] Corresponding to كُلَّمَا and ܟܠܡܐ ܕ.

what is to be done (see § 237*c*), whether the same person is continued or not; as, *he cried* לָדִין *to judge* (*i.e.* that *he was going to judge*); *he expected* לַעֲשׂוֹת *to produce* (*i.e.* that the vineyard *would produce*) grapes, Ps. l. 4, Isa. v. 2, Amos vii. 4, Ps. civ. 27, Jer. xviii. 7, xxxiv. 8, 9, xxxv. 8, 9, xl. 14,—not to mention those passages in which the infinitive with לְ is required to express the idea of *necessity*, as Dan. ix. 2 (*quos dixit complendos esse urbi*).

Gradually, however, there appear the beginnings of greater freedom in quoting thoughts under the form of relative sentences; and it is just then that the voluntative comes to be largely used, and maintained for a considerable length, Isa. xxxviii. 15, 16, Job x. 14–18, xvi. 4, 5, xxiii. 7, xxxi. 1–4, Ps. xl. 4, lv. 7–9, cxxxix. 8 ff., Prov. viii. 29*b*, Isa. liii. 10, 11; hence also after לְמַעַן *that he might know*, Ps. lxxviii. 6–8. Truly astonishing is the change which has finally resulted from this, in historical narrative: while the older writers quote almost every command and thought literally, the later like to subordinate these in the imperfect, with or without כִּי or אֲשֶׁר, as in Dan. i. 5, 8, 1 Chron. xxi. 18 (quite differently in 2 Sam. xxiv. 18), Neh. xiii. 19, 22; or, as is more frequently the case, they append them by means of the infinite with לְ,—which is at least a shorter construction,—as, *they said* לַעֲשׂוֹת כֵּן *to do* (*i.e.* that they were going to do) *so; he told him* לְהָבִיא *to bring* (*i.e.* that he was to bring), 1 Chron. xiii. 4, xv. 16, xvii. 25 (the construction is different in 2 Sam. vii. 27), xxi. 18, xxii. 2, xxvii. 23, 2 Chron. i. 18, etc., Esth. i. 10, 11, iii. 13, 14, ix. 20, 21, Dan. i. 3, 5, 18, ii. 2, and even already in 2 Sam. xxi. 16. Specially to be noticed here is the entirely novel method of employing the passive infinitive, Esth. ix. 14; as also the use of בְּ to indicate the agent,[1] by the side of לְ, joined with the infinitive in a passive sense, Esth. iv. 7 (see § 304*c*). Indeed, the passage Neh. x. 29–40 shows, in the [831] clearest manner, that the indirect mode, even when used on a large scale, and through a long series of sentences, had finally attained as high a degree of perfection as with us.

b. In quoting a statement or thought, לֵאמֹר is used (see §§ 245*b*, 280*d*); the speaker, however, may also begin a pretty

[1] [The passage cited is by no means an instance of such a use of בְּ.]

long explanatory statement even with אֲשֶׁר (like ὅτι, Syr. ܕ, and Ger. *nämlich*), as, 1 Sam. xv. 20, 2 Sam. i. 4 (cf. 2 Sam. iv. 10, where אֲשֶׁר likewise signifies the Ger. *nämlich*, Eng. *namely*), Ps. cxix. 38. But also in sentences which are less closely connected with what precedes, the imperfect may express, in narrative discourse, what *was to take place* in accordance with the signified wish of another; as, *every one* יָבִיא *was to bring*, Cant. viii. 11. If, however, the quotation indicates what others think (or thought) will assuredly take place, the imperfect likes to be preceded by its own infinitive absolute (see § 312*a*); as, *I* יָשֹׁב אֵשֵׁב *am to sit* (he thinks that I shall certainly do so), 1 Sam. xx. 5, xxii. 22: in this way is explained the difficult expression Ps. l. 21, in closely connected relative discourse (cf. § 240*c*). And, since וְ with the voluntative expresses the result aimed at (see § 347*a*), thoughts of this kind may also be introduced by such a means of attachment, Jer. xxxvi. 7. The mode in which the narrative of what took place makes a rapid transition into an account of what was prescribed by contract, is shown on a large scale in 2 Kings xii. 10–17.

c. The way in which two sentences, of which the second would be a relative one, gradually blend together in an abbreviated style of discourse, is shown by the case found in 2 Sam. xiv. 32, טוֹב לִי עֹד אֲנִי שָׁם *better* (would it be) *for me*, if *I* were *still there;* here, however, the word *still*, which is prefixed for the sake of emphasis, refers to a state of things which would be better (if it existed).

2. *Copulative Words and Sentences.*

(1.) *The usual Copulative Words and Sentences, with their opposite.*

339*a*. I. In accordance with an original peculiarity of all the Semitic languages,[1] the simplest copulation, by means of וְ *and*, is so frequently formed, that it even takes place with two ideas of which the one, as less important, readily admits of being

[1] See Ewald's *Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen*, ii. pp. 38, 63. If any one wishes to see the sharp contrast presented, in this respect, by the rugged and inflexible Norse, let him compare especially the long poem in Castren's *Koibalischer und Karagassischer SL.* pp. 169–208.

subordinated to the other; and this, too, is repeated in the conjunction of single nouns, as well as of whole verbs and sentences. Thus, a noun is often attached to one preceding it by means of *and*, when we would rather subordinate it by means of the preposition *with*, even after many other words, as in Num. xvi. 18, 27; this is particularly observed if the appended verb, in meaning, [832] refers more to the first than to the other, as Judg. vi. 5, 1 Sam. xviii. 6, xxv. 42, xxix. 10, 2 Sam. xii. 30, Gen. xliii. 24, Jer. xix. 1, Isa. xiii. 9, xlii. 5, 2 Chron. ii. 3, xiii. 11, Esth. iv. 3; greater artificiality seems displayed in Eccles. vii. 25, Dan. ix. 26, x. 1. Very rare, however, is the closer connection of two such nouns by means of the construct state, in addition to their copulation by means of the conjunction (see § 210); it occurs only in Isa. xxxiii. 6, xxxv. 2, Ezek. xxvi. 10; cf. the similar construction שַׁבַּת שַׁבָּת *every Sabbath* (see § 313*a*), 1 Chron. ix. 32. Cf. besides, p. 38 and § *c*.

b. If a noun in the construct state (or a preposition) refers to several nouns, it is always to be repeated (see § 289), unless those which follow attach themselves readily, in accordance with the meaning, to the first; as, זָבַת חָלָב וּדְבַשׁ *flowing with milk and honey*, Ex. iii. 8, and other examples in Judg. i. 6, 7 1 Chron. xxix. 2, Prov. i. 3. When there are several nouns, the construct state is often repeated with every one, or with every two, Jer. viii. 1, Isa. xi. 2. But the construct state, or the preposition, must always be repeated, if the first or second noun has merely a suffix, because this cannot be separated; as, בְּנֹתֶיךָ וּבְנוֹת אָבִיךָ *thy daughters and thy father's*, בְּנֵי אָחִי וּבָנַי *my brother's sons and mine.* If the same suffix refers to two nouns, they must, for that reason, both be given [with the suffix attached to each]; as, בָּנָיו וּבְנֹתָיו *his sons and* [his] *daughters;* and it is only in exceedingly rare instances that the same suffix is omitted in the case of the second, closely connected noun, as, עָזִּי וְזִמְרָת *my pride and praise*, Ex. xv. 2 (repeated, from this passage, in Isa. xii. 2, Ps. cxviii. 14), cf. § 173*d*, 1 Sam. i. 9,[1] 2 Sam. xxiii. 5. If, again, two nouns, whose reference is to be limited, have the same limiting noun, this word is subordinated to the first, and repeated with the second

[1] In this passage, accordingly (contrary to § 304), the infinitive in the second clause stands as the infinitive absolute.

merely in the form of a suffix; as, בְּנֵי הָאָב וּבְנֹתָיו *the sons of the father, and his daughters,* or, the sons and daughters of the father, the father's sons and daughters. It is more rare to find two nouns, allied in sense and brief in sound, put in the construct state beside each other, as, מִבְחַר וְטוֹב לְבָנוֹן *the choice and the best of Lebanon,* Ezek. xxxi. 16, Dan. i. 4; in such a case, the first noun may also remain in the absolute state, as, נִבְזֶה וַחֲדַל אִישִׁים *despised and forsaken of men,* Isa. liii. 3, 4, lv. 4. Or, the preposition לְ, as a sign of the genitive, is brought in as an auxiliary, Gen. xl. 5; or, the mere article is sufficient for referring one of the defined nouns to its logical position, Gen. xl. 1. Similarly abbreviated is the expression עֵינַי וְלֹא זָר *mine eyes and not a stranger,* Job xix. 27, where, had it not been necessary to repeat the word in the construct state, it might have been said, (the eyes) *of a stranger.* A rare abbreviation is presented by the expression *the sins of their fathers* אִתָּם *with them* (*i.e.* and their own sins), Lev. xxvi. 39; but the meaning is plainly enough given by the context there. A preposition, and words of similar character, are not always repeated [833]; but, in that case, the word [before which the omission is made] holds more of a subordinate position, considering the meaning of the whole, 1 Kings i. 44, Job xix. 24.

If, after some interval, a new noun be joined in this way to the person contained in the verb [as its subject] or in the suffix, or to a substantive, then the preceding noun is readily repeated, in the form of its personal pronoun, before the new noun, in order to receive sufficient distinctness and importance in comparison with the noun which follows; as, יָדַעְתָּ אַתָּה וַאֲבֹתֶיךָ *thou knowest, thou and thy fathers,* Deut. ii. 32, iii. 1, v. 14, vi. 2, xii. 7, 12, 18; this construction, however, is not so necessary in the case of the suffix, as in the case of the *accusative,* Isa. xxix. 7, Ezek. xxxiv. 26, Zech. v. 4. On the other hand, constructions like דָּוִד הוּא וַאֲנָשָׁיו *David, he and his men* (*i.e.* David with his men), 1 Sam. xxx. 31, serve to give prominence to the first noun as the more important; cf. 1 Kings i. 17.

A description which begins with an adjective may also, at least in poetry, be continued by another in which a noun comes first, according to the way mentioned in § 287*f*, *g*; as, Ezek. xxxi. 3.

c. If a verb, or an adjective as the *predicate*, or a pronoun, refers to several such subjects connected by the copulative particle, then there arise different possible forms of relation:—

(1.) When the predicate *precedes*, it is (*a*) most frequently put in the *masc. sing.*, as the most convenient form (cf. § 316*a*), even though different genders and numbers follow; as, יָצָא תּוֹדָה וְקוֹל *there goes forth praise* (fem.) *and a loud voice* (masc.), Jer. xxx. 19, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8, Gen. xxiv. 55. More rarely (*b*) is the predicate put in the *plural* form, because the speaker takes in all that follows; as, מֵתוּ שָׁאוּל וּבָנָיו *dead are Saul and his sons*, 1 Sam. xxxi. 7. Or (*c*) it is put in the *feminine*, with reference to the gender of the word which stands first, whether sing. or plur.; this is especially the case when the feminine indicates a *person*, Gen. xxxiii. 7, Num. xii. 1.

(2.) When the predicate *follows*, it stands (*a*) usually in the *plural*, whether several nouns in the singular, or one or several plurals precede, Gen. xxxiii. 7. (*b*) It may stand in the *singular*, only when *one* person is the chief (see § *a*); as, אֲנִי וְנַעֲרֹתַי אָצוּם *I and* [or *with*] *my maids will fast*, Esth. iv. 16, Ex. ix. 19, xxi. 4, 2 Sam. xx. 10, Neh. vi. 12, cf. ver. 17 (in 2 Kings iv. 7, even the וְ would be wanting, if the reading were correct); or when the nouns have more of a neuter sense, or are almost synonymous, Deut. xxviii. 24, Hos. iv. 11, Esth. iv. 14. (*c*) The *masculine* is, in this case also, the most convenient, Gen. xxxiii. 7, 2 Chron. xi. 12; it is put in the singular when the first noun is masc. and the second fem., Zech. vii. 7, Prov. xxvii. 9, and even when the converse is the case, Ps. lv. 6, or even when the first noun is plural, 1 Kings v. 8, vi. 7; it is seldom that the *feminine* is used, in reference to a noun of that gender which stands last, Job xix. 15, or because the feminine is more important, Jer. xliv. 25, xlix. 24.

A similar irregularity takes place when the verb, in accordance with its meaning, is at once referred to the noun which, at the moment of utterance, seems much the nearer and more important; as, *life and grace hast thou shown to me*, Job x. 12.

340*a*. In accordance with the same simplicity of the language, new *sentences* are attached, whenever [834] possible, by means of וְ; and all through, in the arrangement of connected propositions, there prevails the same plan of simple annexation

to one that was first stated by itself. The copulative particle attaches, not merely a proposition which, in the ordinary calm progress of discourse, connects itself with the preceding one, but also—

(1.) An *antithetical proposition.* The particular word, however, with which the antithesis is especially concerned, must then (contrary to the usual arrangement in calm discourse, § 307 f.) always receive strong prominence by being placed at the beginning of the proposition; so that it is not the וְ which indicates the antithesis, and of itself signifies *but,* but the position assigned to the words, the tone of the discourse, and the comparison of the proposition with that which precedes; as, *he called the dry* [land] *earth, and* (but) *the collection of water he called sea,* Gen. i. 10. It is only when no other word can easily be placed at the beginning, for the purpose of indicating the antithesis clearly, that its antithetical meaning sometimes follows merely from the connection existing between the propositions; as, וְדַע *but know,* Eccles. xi. 9, xii. 1. (Cf. further, § 354*a.*)

b. (2.) A thought which, in meaning, is more of a subordinate, explanatory character, is attached by means of וְ as soon as it can take an independent place as a proposition; nearly every thought, however, continues to appear, when possible, as a proposition by itself. Hence, though a proposition which indicates a *comparison* may also be loosely attached in the same way,—whether the comparison comes after, as in Job v. 7, xii. 11, or precedes, as in Job xiv. 11, 12, 19, Prov. xxv. 3, 20, 25,[1]—yet this construction rather forms a distinctive feature in the somewhat later *neat* style of certain poets.

The copulative וּ, especially in later writings, is also used, at times, for superadding something new and of importance for the same proposition already stated,—like our *even, and that too;* as, Judg. vi. 25, vii. 22, Mal. i. 11, Eccles. i. 5, iii. 17, viii. 2, 1 Chron. ix. 27, 2 Chron. viii. 13, xxix. 27. Cf. something different in § 352*b.*

c. (3.) It is placed before an exclamation,—rarely, indeed, yet in undeniable instances, as Jer. xx. 12, Joel ii. 23, 2 Sam. i. 21; in the same way also we must understand Deut. xxxiii. 3.

[1] See similar propositions indicating comparison, in poetic discourse, *Hamâsa*, p. 234, 14 f.

This use of וְ is very important, inasmuch as it also serves (as in Arabic) for our *by*, to introduce an oath, Joel iv. 20, Amos ix. 5, Hos. xii. 6, Jer. xxix. 23, Isa. li. 15, Deut. xxxii. 31, Ps. lxxi. 19, lxxxix. 38,—because all these passages are correctly understood only in this way. But these propositions or individual words, employed in swearing, were doubtless, at first, properly sentences indicating a circumstance or state (see § 341), but uttered as exclamations; thus, *for* (or, *as sure as*) *God is witness!*—an expression which is only afterwards used more briefly in the sense of *by God!*[1]

[835] 341*a*. The most important point to observe here is, that propositions describing a *circumstance* or *state* [circumstantial clauses][2] (see § 306*c*), which serve to elucidate the main proposition, are attached to it in this way by means of the copulative וְ, both being, as it were, placed on an equal footing. When such a construction is formed—

(*a*) The proposition which indicates the state is usually placed only *after* the main proposition, and thus takes the וְ at the beginning. The subject regularly stands first (see § 306*c*); and this rule is so very strictly observed, that if the subject of the subordinate proposition is a noun already mentioned in the leading one, it must be repeated, either itself, or at least in its pronoun; as, *he smote the camp* וְהַמַּחֲנֶה הָיָה בֶטַח *and the camp was quiet, i.e.* while the camp was quiet; *Saul spake* . . . וְשָׁאוּל אָמַר *and Saul thought, i.e.* thinking; *they came to her* וְהִיא יֹשֶׁבֶת *and she* (was) *sitting, i.e.* while she was sitting; and in the same way, *they came* וְלוֹט יֹשֵׁב *while Lot was sitting,* Judg. viii. 11, xiii. 9, 1 Sam. xviii. 17, Gen. xix. 1, xxiv. 21, Ps. l. 17, Prov. vi. 27, 28. Even יֵשׁ (see § 299*a*) has a posterior position assigned to it, in order that what is, in

[1] That short, concluding words like وَاللّٰه originated, in Arabic also, from complete propositions describing a circumstance, is evident, for instance, from the solemn concluding formula وهو اللّٰه *as sure as God is* . . ., *Haret. M.* ver. 82, though this closing verse has been misunderstood by the Scholiasts. A trace of such confirmatory oaths, used in concluding, is found even in 2 Macc. ii. 17, 18, 2 Cor. i. 21, 22, and in similar propositions; but they still occur in Syriac also, as in Assemâni's *Bibl. Orient.* ii. p. 260, 21.

[2] [Regarding these, see also Driver on the Hebrew Tenses, Appendix I. p. 200 ff.]

meaning, the true subject, may occupy the first place, Isa. xliii. 8, cf. Prov. xi. 24, xvii. 16 (xiii. 7). The subject always comes first in this way, if the verb is in the participial form (according to § 168*c*), whether the discourse be a narrative of what is past, or an account of the future, 1 Sam. x. 8, or of the present, Ps. xxxv. 5, 6. This is also the rule even when the meaning demands the perfect, because the action has already been completed along with that of the main proposition; as, *they prophesy,* וַאֲנִי לֹא שְׁלַחְתִּים *and* (but) *I have not sent them,* i.e. without my having sent them, Jer. xiv. 15; and in narrating past events, in which case the perfect indicates either that the action was already finished [before that which is mentioned in the other proposition], and is thus equivalent to our *pluperfect,* —as, וְאַבְשָׁלוֹם לָקַח *and Absalom had taken,* 2 Sam. xiii. 18,— or at least that it is more transitory, not permanent, 1 Sam. xviii. 17. If, however, there comes first an emphatic word, which necessarily precedes the verb,—like הִנֵּה *behold,* which even of itself refers to the circumstance described,—then the finite verb, according to its usual position, may remain at the beginning of the proposition, as, Gen. viii. 13, cf. Ex. xvi. 10, ix. 7, 1 Sam. xxv. 14, Ezek. xliii. 5, xliv. 4;[1] so, too, in the case of לֹא *not,* which is always put first, in an emphatic way, as in Job xxxii. 14, xlii. 3, Ps. xliv. 18; cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* ii. p. 264. In the case of a proposition without a verb, too, the subject is indeed regularly put first, as, Gen. ix. 23, xi. 4, xii. 6, xiii. 7, Ps. xxviii. 3, l. 8, cxxxix. 16, Prov. xv. 16, xvii. 1, Hos. iv. 4; yet a smaller word may also stand at the beginning (see § 308*a*), as, *save us* וְשָׁוְא תְּשׁוּעַת אָדָם *when* (or *because*) *vain is the help of men,* Ps. lx. 13, Lev. xiii. 4, Gen. xlix. 10, 2 Kings x. 2; and then it gradually comes to be even very common to prefix accessory descriptive propositions (see § 111), as, *he came* וּבְיָדוֹ רִצְפָּה *while* [836] *there was* (*i.e.* holding) *in his hand a burning coal,* Isa. vi. 6, Amos vii. 7, Zech. ii. 5. It is only in poetry that a finite verb is put last, without giving renewed prominence to the subject, Job x. 3*c*.

b. In several cases, however, such a subordinate proposition may actually be put in closer construction, and subordinated

[1] This is quite the same kind of construction as when, in Arabic, قَدْ, with the perfect, comes first.

in the accusative, without the copulative particle (see § 279) as if it formed a dependent clause. Thus—

(1.) Instead of וְאֵין מִסְפָּר or וְלֹא מִסְפָּר *and* there is *no number* (see § 286*g*), may be used the shorter emphasis אֵין מִסְפָּר or לֹא מִסְפָּר *without number*, Judg. vi. 5; but the וְ remains before אֵין when this is followed by a participle, which is regarded as containing a more complete proposition, Lev. xxvi. 6, Gen. xli. 8, cf. ver. 15.

(2.) Generally speaking, mere noun-propositions are readily subordinated in this way; as, *he pitched his tent, Bethel on the west, and Ai on the east, i.e.* in such a manner that he had . . ., Gen. xii. 8; *he stood* רַב הַמָּקוֹם *enough of space* (*i.e.* so that there was enough of space) *between them*, 1 Sam. xxvi. 13, Ps. xlv. 14: similarly, *I saw every man, his hands on his loins*, i.e. in such a state that he was holding his hands on his loins, Jer. xxx. 6 (see § 284*b*).

(3.) But verb-propositions also, chiefly participles, are subordinated in this way, either (*a*) without a new subject, and hence as briefly as possible, as, יָצְאוּ נִצָּבִים *they went out, taking up their position, i.e.* in such a way that they took their stand, Num. xvi. 27 (with which compare the expression, not yet contracted in this manner, in Ex. xxxiii. 8), Judg. viii. 4, Jer. xli. 6, xliii. 2, 1 Chron. xii. 1, Ezra x. 1, Mal. i. 7, Hab. ii. 15, Hag. i. 4, Ps. vii. 3, lxxviii. 4, Job xiv. 20, xxiv. 5, xxix. 12; or (*b*) in such a way that the subordinated proposition would have a new subject for itself, as, *there met him Hushai* קָרוּעַ כֻּתָּנְתּוֹ *his garment torn* (*i.e.* in such a condition that his garment was torn; see § 284*c*) *and earth on his head*, 2 Sam. xv. 32, where קָרוּעַ (contrary to § 288*b*) is preferably put in the absolute state (and hence כֻּתֹּנֶת with the suffix), in order to give greater prominence to the subordinate circumstance, though there is nothing, in the nature of the case, to prevent the construct state from being used; cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 31. It often becomes necessary, on account of לֹא, or a corresponding negative (see § 320*a*), to employ the *finite* verb, in the *imperfect*, as signifying duration, Ps. xxxv. 8, xxi. 12, lvi. 5, 12, cxl. 11, Job xxix. 24, xxxiv. 31, Prov. v. 6, xix. 23, Nah. i. 12; or in the *perfect*, when this form is more suitable for the meaning and the mode of representation, as Judg. v. 19, Job ix. 25, iii. 18, Deut. xxi. 1, Ezra x. 6; indeed, even a negative proposition

of considerable extent may be briefly attached in this way, as in Judg. v. 8c, where the subject is intentionally placed first. But an affirmative proposition may also be subordinated in this manner, at least in the brief poetic style; thus, with the imperfect, *those who sit late* יַיִן יַדְלִיקֵם *wine inflaming them* (*i.e.* while wine inflames them,—where the active construction forces its way in more easily than the passive, *inflamed with wine*), Isa. v. 11, i. 5, Ps. xxvii. 5, lxii. 5, cvii. 5; most rarely with the perfect, as, *hasten hither* מִשְׁפָּט צִוִּיתָ *having commanded judgment*, Ps. vii. 7, lvii. 4, lxxi. 3. [837] Still more rarely does the predicate, in the form of the *participle*, come first, when it is of more importance, as regards meaning, than the subject, which is not new in the sentence, Ex. xxvi. 5, xxxvi. 12; but it is very seldom that the *imperfect*, so used, comes first, in a more loosely attached new proposition, as in Ps. ciii. 5b.[1]

All this reappears most briefly in cases such as, *he thrust the spears into Absalom's heart* עוֹדֶנּוּ חַי *he still living*, *i.e.* while he was still living, 2 Sam. xviii. 14, Ps. lxix. 4; and in its boldest form, the proposition being at the same time prefixed, in Job xiv. 18, Prov. xx. 14, Dan. ix. 21; in the case of a noun-proposition also, Ps. iv. 3; such a proposition may even be further inserted into a circumstantial clause, as, וְהוּא נִזְהָר מִלֵּט נַפְשׁוֹ *for he, warned* (*i.e.* if he had taken warning), *would have saved his soul*, Ezek. xxxiii. 5. Verbs of sense, on the other hand, readily subordinate a participle, as a secondary object (see § 384*b*). It is very seldom that, in spite of such abbreviation, the וְ is retained, as in Hab. ii. 10, and in narrative, 2 Sam. xiii. 20, Dan. viii. 27.[2] Similarly, וְ is dropped when a word of this kind, used to represent the circumstantial clause (see § 332*b*), is immediately attached to a noun introduced in the construct form; as, *on account of the ground* being (*i.e.* because the ground is) *terrified*, Jer. xiv. 4, 2 Sam. xii. 21. It is merely because the word which describes the

[1] If we were here to think of the construction, *so that thou renewest thy youth* (see § 124*b*), we should expect תִּתְחַדְּשִׁי.

[2] In these cases at least the same person is continued; in Judg. xiii. 19, with וּמַפְלִא לַעֲשׂוֹת *and it moves strangely* (for the words in this connection cannot well mean anything else), there is also a change of the person, in the middle of the narrative. See something similar below, § 342*b*.

circumstance is in this case not co-ordinated (according to § 293), but more loosely attached, that it appears as the predicate to the preceding noun.

c. (*b*) If the circumstantial clause is more loosely inserted in a somewhat lengthy series of narrative statements, so much the more faithfully must it maintain its peculiar form; for the most part, however, it still retains the וְ *and*, as its introductory particle, as Gen. xviii. 11, xxiv. 11, Josh. vi. 1. But when a greater separation is made, the וְ may also be omitted, partly, perhaps, because another specification of time is placed at the head of the proposition, as in Judg. xviii. 1, partly because the subject is at once put first, as in Deut. v. 5.

Even at the beginning of a new discourse, the וְ of the circumstantial clause may remain, under the tacit assumption, however, that some other words have previously been expressed, or are obviously to be understood, as in Num. xii. 14 (where the verb in the perfect—with the infinitive absolute prefixed, in accordance with §§ 312*a* and 338*b*—very well indicates, in a more lively manner, what might have taken place), xvi. 11, Ps. ii. 6, Isa. iii. 24: in all these passages, there is an interruption produced by a statement which is, as it were, angrily torn from its connection.

(*c*) Lastly, if, in fuller accordance with the meaning, the circumstantial clause is placed first, in order to describe thereafter the event taking place under those circumstances (whether the past, present, [838] or future, is in question, Josh. ii. 18), then the subject must always remain distinctly at the beginning, unless, for a special reason, the predicate remains first, as receiving exceptional and much more decided prominence; thus, when the perfect, after אַךְ *merely*, and its own infinitive absolute (according to § 312*a*), only the more strongly expresses our pluperfect,[1] Gen. xxvii. 30; and the action which occurs under that condition of things, previously described, is then attached by means of the copulative particle. If it be a sudden and unexpected event which, like a disturbing element, breaks in upon the calm state of things, it is again represented as actually going on, the subject being placed

[1] Just in the same way as, in Arabic, the perfect after قَدْ remains at the beginning.

first; but the whole clause is at the same time made strongly antithetical.[1] The first proposition may (*a*) contain a participle, as, *thy children* were *eating and drinking* (*i.e.* during the feast), *when lo, a great storm came;* or, *they were going up* (*i.e.* while they were going up) וְהֵמָּה מָצְאוּ *and they found* (*i.e.* then suddenly they found), Job i. 16 ff., 1 Sam. ix. 11, Isa. xxxvii. 38, Gen. xxxviii. 25, 1 Kings xiv. 17, 2 Kings ii. 12, 23, vi. 5, 26, ix. 25, xx. 39; it may also (*b*) contain an imperfect, Prov. xvii. 11, xix. 3, cf. Ps. cxvi. 3, 4; or (*c*) the meaning in the first proposition may require the perfect, as, *Jacob had but* (*i.e.* scarcely, hardly, as in Prov. xvii. 11) *gone out* וְעֵשָׂו בָּא *and* (*i.e.* when) *Esau came,* Gen. xxvii. 30, Ex. x. 13, Judg. iii. 24; or (*d*) still another turn may be suitable, Gen. vii. 6, 10, xix. 4, Num. x. 33, 2 Kings x. 12 f., Jonah iii. 4, 1 Chron. xxviii. 2, Ps. lxxviii. 30 f. In the second proposition, the event which suddenly occurs may possibly be in the participle also, as in 2 Kings viii. 5, Dan. ix. 20 f.; usually, however, it is in the simple perfect or imperfect, 1 Kings i. 14. But, at other times, the main proposition in the narrative is immediately attached, in a smoother way, by using the [finite] verb with Vav consecutive (see § 342), Gen. xxiv. 1, 2, Deut. xxvi. 5, Judg. iv. 4, 5, 1 Kings xiii. 11, when the participle, as regards its meaning, almost corresponds to a perfect participle in Greek, 2 Sam. xi. 4. If, however, a question or an interjection follows, the copulative particle is almost always omitted, Gen. xlix. 29, l. 5, Ex. iii. 13; it may also be omitted under other circumstances, as Prov. xxii. 15, and in the grand instance, Ps. xix. 4, 5:—

Without loud speech, and without words,
Without their voice being heard,
Their sound has gone through all the earth,
And their language to the world's extremity.[2]

[839] *e.* If the subject of the circumstantial clause is quite

[1] In Arabic, under such circumstances, إِنَّ would stand first, along with the subject; see Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* § 740.

[2] *I.E.* the heavens, though they do not speak aloud, nevertheless make known God's praise everywhere. The two members of ver. 4 correspond to one another; and it was unnecessary to put וַיֵּצֵא at the beginning of ver. 5, to indicate antithesis (see § 354*a*).

indefinite, the mere combination of the participle with it is sufficient to indicate a possible case; as, כָּל הֹרֵג *every one killing* (*i.e.* if any one kills), Gen. iv. 15, 1 Sam. ii. 13, Prov. xxix. 9, Jer. xxiii. 17, cf. Eccles. v. 18. And since there is already contained in the participle, as such, the reference to a person, a participle which has been purposely left indefinite may, in poetry, even of itself form the proposition in this case; as, מֹשֵׁל צַדִּיק one *ruling, just, i.e.* if one rules justly, 2 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4, Job xli. 18.

Moreover, when mention is to be made of an event which unexpectedly occurs, a simple proposition, which is not of the nature of a circumstantial clause, may be followed by another, in which greater prominence is assigned to the subject by being placed [immediately] after the וְ, while the verb-tense in its simple [*i.e.* unconverted, see § 342 ff.] form comes after, as Gen. xxii. 1, 2 Kings iv. 40, 2 Chron. xiii. 15, xxvi. 19, 2 Sam. xxiv. 11, Esth. vi. 4; in this case the Arabic would use إِذْ.

342*a*. II. From this usual feeble וְ *and*, we must carefully distinguish the stronger, more significant *ánd* (see §§ 231–5). This latter has a strongly connective and retrospective force; it presents the word with which it is connected as conditioned by, and issuing from, what precedes; hence it expresses a *sequence* of the second from the first, a necessary *progression* from the first to the second, and consequently, an internal reference on the part of the second to the first. It is briefly named *Vav consecutive* (or *relative*); and is our more pointed *ánd*, or *and thus* (so), *so that*, also *then*. This *Vav of sequence*, accordingly, is one of the most important elements of the language when consecution of *time* is concerned, as well as in the mere consecution of *ideas* and *thoughts*. According as this Vav, however, is combined with the various kinds of words, it falls into three species:—

1. *Vav consecutive of the imperfect and perfect* (see §§ 231–4) is the most frequent and important; the form, too, in which it is expressed is quite definite and distinct. For, in this way, the consecution of *time* comes most directly and clearly into view, the Vav of sequence being more closely united with the tense of the finite verb, in such a way, too, that the action

likewise enters a *new line of sequence;* viz., that which actually exists (the perfect) advances to new stages of development (the consecutive imperfect), while that which does not yet exist (the imperfect) is represented as progressing towards actuality (the consecutive perfect). Both combinations, however, have their own peculiar meanings, as well as the simple tenses; and though the corresponding simple tense often precedes (*i.e.* though the simple perfect is frequently found before this consecutive imperfect, and conversely), yet a proposition in any other form may also serve as the basis on which to lay one of these two Vavs of sequence.

[840] (*a*) The *consecutive imperfect,* accordingly, for the most part occurs in the narration and representation of what once took place and is absolutely completed; as, אָמַר וַיְּהִי *he spake and it was done,* or, *after he had spoken, it was done,* רָאִיתָ וַתִּשְׂמַח *thou sawest and didst rejoice,* or, having seen it, thou didst rejoice; it is found with a transition from the present to the past, in Job ii. 3, xi. 3 f., Ps. xxxv. 20 f. But that which, though already completed, yet, as being finished, reaches down to the present (see § 135*b*), may also be indicated by this compound form; as, *what is man* וַתֵּדָעֵהוּ *that Thou knowest him?* Ps. cxliv. 3, Isa. li. 12 f.; *this one has come as a stranger* וַיִּשְׁפֹּט שָׁפוֹט *and yet he always goes on judge-judging,* Gen. xix. 9, xxxi. 15, 2 Sam. iii. 8 (cf. the *present* in the Septuagint), Jer. xxxviii. 9, Ps. xxix. 10, cxix. 90, Amos vi. 9, Nah. i. 4. In mentioning a wish, too, the speaker may attach its expression to the preterite; as, וַתִּבְחַר *thus my soul would choose . . .,* *i.e.* thus I would rather wish . . ., Job vii. 15: this is especially the case when the discourse arises out of the *precative* (which is explained in § 223*b*), Ps. cix. 17 f., 28b. Regarding the future, cf. § *c*.

(*b*) The *consecutive perfect* is used with reference to—

b. (1.) The *present,* especially in the case of actions that may frequently be repeated, or which last for a time; as, *one flees from a lion and comes on a bear* יָנוּס וּפְגָעוֹ, Amos v. 19, Nah. iii. 12, Job vii. 4, Jer. xviii. 7–10, and after the participle, Gen. ii. 10. But in an account of *past* actions which continue for a time, or are frequently repeated, the imperfect may likewise be used in the first proposition; as, *mist arose*

(used always to arise, during the long period), *and watered*, hence יַעֲלֶה וְהִשְׁקָה *the ground*, Gen. ii. 6; or the participle (see § 306*c*), as Gen. xxxvii. 7 (in describing the *vision* as it was when present to the dreamer's mind), Josh. vi. 13, Isa. vi. 2, 3, Dan. viii. 4, Jer. xviii. 3, 4; or anything else whatever, since, for instance, in the midst of an account of what once happened, there may be further attached something that lasted longer, or that was repeated, 1 Sam. i. 3, vii. 15 f., xvi. 23, xvii. 20, Gen. xxx. 41 f., xxxviii. 9, 2 Kings vi. 10, xxi. 6; the consecutive perfect may also arise out of a preceding participle, 2 Sam. xvii. 17 (where all these propositions merely present another form of expression for our *whilst, during the time that*); or similarly from an infinitive absolute (see 280*b*), 2 Sam. xii. 16. Especially in the account given of a work, a building, etc., where so many individual points require to be briefly mentioned, there is also a strong tendency to pass over into this representation of one as present, 1 Kings vi. 32, 35, vii. 8, Neh. iii. 14 f.; nay more, a transition may further be made into what is perhaps even a more brief mode of representation, viz. that in which the passive participle is employed (cf. p. 241, *footnote*), 1 Kings vii. 3, 7, 10. Instead of this more rare mode of narration, however, there is a beginning already made, particularly among later writers, in employing the construction more common in descriptions of the *past* (see § *a*), the verbs being put in the form of sequence, and in the plain form, so that the colour of the discourse varies much, particularly in certain passages, Gen. xxxvii. 7, Ex. xvi. 21, Num. xi. 8 f., Jer. xviii. 4, xix. 4, 5, Job i. 4, 5, [841] Ruth iv. 7, Ps. lxxviii. 34 f., 40 ff.[1] When, merely for the sake of liveliness, the past is depicted as if it were present, the discourse readily reverts to the usual construction, Judg. v. 26, Prov. vii. 12, 13, Ezek. xxxvii. 2, 7, 8, 10.

(2.) To the *future* (see § 136*d*); as, יֵלֵךְ וְנִלְחַם *he will go and then fight*. Even when the discourse, at its opening, employs the perfect in the sense of a future which is already quite certain (see § 135*c*), change is made, in what follows, into this

[1] The change in the place of tone (see § 234*c*) appears not to be made in וְשָׁבַעְתִּי, Job vii. 4,—if, indeed, this is not rather to be regarded as a pausal form; for, that it is not neglected in other cases, even when the past is spoken of, is shown by passages like Amos iv. 7, Jer. vi. 17.

less impassioned form of statement, Gen. xvii. 20, Deut. xv. 6, cf. Ps. xx. 7; it is only very seldom that this change appears more in the body of the discourse, or that the form in which the sentence was begun is continued somewhat longer, as if the eye of the prophet were wholly and solely engaged in the contemplation of this certainty, Mic. ii. 13, Isa. ii. 9 (cf. vers. 11, 17), v. 15, viii. 23, on to ix. 6, xxxii. 14. Moreover, a conclusion may also be at once drawn from the present and past to the new present, or the future; as, *there is no fear of God here* וַהֲרָגוּנִי *and hence* (because this is the case) *they will kill me*, Gen. xx. 11; *this hath touched thy lips* וְסָר *and so thine iniquity shall depart*, Isa. vi. 7, Jer. iv. 10, Ps. lxxx. 13 f., 2 Sam. vii. 8–10. The second member may likewise be interrogatory (see § 320*a*), Ex. v. 5, Job xxxii. 16, Ezek. xv. 5, xviii. 13, 24; in this way we must understand וְשָׁמְעוּ, Ps. cxli. 6, as meaning, *and should they hear that my songs are joyful?*

In the same manner, and with equal propriety, this form of the verb follows the plain imperfect in all its various constructions and shades of meaning, and even the voluntative and imperative, provided only there is an unimpassioned progress in the discourse; as, פֶּן־יָבוֹא וְהִכַּנִי *lest he come and then smite me*, Gen. xxxii. 12; יֵלְכוּ וְקֹשְׁשׁוּ *let them go and gather*, Ex. v. 7; פְּגַע וּקְבַרְתּוֹ *slay and then bury him*; דַּבֵּר וְאָמַרְתָּ *speak and* (so as to) *say*. But even when the imperative or voluntative would be used by itself, it rather appears transformed into the mode of expression employed in calm discourse, when the context prefers smooth and easy consecution, as, Ps. xxv. 11 (see § 344*b*), Ezek. ii. 5; the attractive force of this Vav of sequence is so great that even the precative particle ־נָא (see § 246*a*) may remain, Gen. xl. 14.

343*a*. Instead of the second kind [of this Vav of sequence, viz. that which is joined with the *perfect*], which, on the whole, comes to be less and less used,[1] there frequently and readily occurs, particularly in poetic writers, the stronger first kind [viz. that with the imperfect], when the *past* and *present* are spoken of, and a somewhat stronger connective force is really appropriate; hence it is employed when the case stands alone,

[1] In the Mishna, indeed, traces of it continue to be found, as *Berachoth* iii. 4, 6, but these are very few.

without being continued, as in Job vii. 17, 18, ix. 20, x. 22, xii. 22–25, xiv. 10, 17, [842] xxxi. 27, 34, xxxiv. 24, xxxvii. 8, xxxix. 15, Ps. xxxiv. 8, xlix. 15, lii. 9, Prov. xx. 26, 1 Sam. ii. 6, Amos ix. 5. This extended application, however, of the stronger of the two modified tense-forms, is never carried so far as that the consecutive imperfect would be employed where the imperative, as a simple tense, or rather as a simple mood, is required by the sense (see § 342*b*).

But the present, and even the future, is also readily represented, by the fancy of the poets, in the simple perfect, and with Vav consecutive of the first kind [viz. of the imperfect], as if the thing were already seen and certain; this is particularly the case in shorter propositions, and when new figures are introduced, often with beautiful variety, but never in lengthy propositions; thus, Job xx. 15, xxiii. 13, xxiv. 2, 10–16, 20, xxx. 12 f., Ps. vii. 13 f., 16, xxii. 30, lv. 18 f., lxiv. 8 ff., cx. 5, 6, Isa. ii. 9, 11 (cf. ver. 17), v. 15 f. A perfect, with or without לֹא, inserted in a sentence, has then obviously more the meaning of a conditioning clause (see § 355 f.), Lev. xx. 18, 20, cf. ver. 19, Num. xxx. 12, cf. ver. 15, Ezek. xxxiii. 4–8. The clearest cases are presented by those passages in which the simple form of the perfect (which might be succeeded by the consecutive imperfect) suddenly occurs in a description of the present and future, in order briefly to indicate what was then as good as complete and certain (*futurum exactum*), Job v. 20, xi. 20, xviii. 6, xix. 27, Ps. xxxvii. 20, Hos. x. 5, 15.

b. Thus the *two simple* tenses cross with the *two modified* ones (as they may briefly be designated); but so do these, again, in turn, cross with their opposites. When the discourse becomes most highly animated and impetuous, the imperfect with the simple וְ *and* [*i.e.* not the Vav of sequence ("Vav conversive"), but Vav copulative] may always be repeated in rapid succession; as, Isa. v. 29 f., xix. 20, Job xi. 10 with reference to the *future*. On the other hand, in descriptions of the present and past, the imperfect prefers to assume its relative form (see § 231), but this without any addition, or with the simple וְ; as, Job xiii. 27, xviii. 9, 12 ff., xx. 23–28, xxvii. 20–23, xxxviii. 14 f., Ps. xi. 6, xviii. 12, xxvi. 6,

Prov. xv. 25, Isa. xii. 1; cf. §§ 233*a*, 346*b*;[1] and it is very obvious that these least common modes of representation are continued only so long as appears convenient. These two tenses may fitly be named the *reduced* ones, inasmuch as they happen to be employed in cases where, in Latin, a brief and rapid outline of events is sketched by means of a series of mere infinitives. In actual fact, however, the *progressive imperfect* results from the decomposition of the second, while the *progressive voluntative* arises out of the dissolution of the first modified tense-form; hence, there are, properly speaking, six tense-forms in Hebrew. But, of course, the reduced forms did not originate till a period when we can, as it were, see them rising before our eyes; while the two modified tenses reach back into an early age, regarding which we can but form conjectures.

[843] *c.* Besides this gradual transition of the second tense into the first (indicated in § *a*), there are found, in the last period of the language, the traces of a complete breaking up of both tenses in the following phenomena:—(1) The modified imperfect with וְ is used instead of the second tense: this construction, which is, properly, but a further advance in the usage mentioned in § *b*, is found so early as in Joel ii. 20, Mic. iii. 4, vi. 14, Lev. xv. 24, xxvi. 43, then much more frequently, in Ezek. xiv. 7, xxxiii. 31, Isa. lviii. 10, lix. 10, xxxv. 1, 4, 6, Dan. viii. 12, xi. 4, 10, 16–19, 25, 28, 30, 2 Chron. vii. 13 f., xxiv. 11, Ps. civ. 32; cf. also the remarks already made in §§ 232*h*, 233*a*. From passages, however, like 2 Chron. xxiv. 11, we may clearly infer how easily, in this case, the plain tense also was, by degrees, simply substituted for the modified one, as in Aramaic and Arabic. For (2) the plain perfect is sometimes used, in the same way, instead of the modified imperfect, Jer. xxxvii. 15, 2 Kings xiv. 7, xxiii. 4, 5, 8, 10, xii. 14, Ezra viii. 30, 36; and this construction is already prevalent in Ecclesiastes [i. 13, 16, ii. 5, 9, etc.]. Lastly, we have to observe that, in accordance with the Aramaic idiom, instead of the second simple or modified tense, the *participle*, indicating continuance (see § 168*c*), forces its way into descriptions in which duration

[1] In cases like Eccles. xii. 4–6, however, an additional determining element is the specification of time, as explained in § 337*c*, *d*.

is marked, Esth. ii. 12–14, 20, iii. 2, viii. 17, ix. 28, 2 Chron. xvii. 11.

344*a*. Thus, this Vav of sequence occurs in cases wherever any kind of progress, or a development of the action, is conceivable; it is always the most convenient means of attaching what is new, and is developed out of that which stands at the beginning; it is, as it were, the constant lever of the narrative. It is possible, for instance, to say אוּכַל וְרָאִיתִי *I am able ánd see, i.e.* to see (§ 285*c*). Any verb, even one which is merely explanatory, may readily be attached in this way, especially if the series to which it belongs has already assumed this form of expression; as, וַיָּשָׁב וַיְדַבֵּר *and he returned ánd spake,* i.e. again he spake (see § 285*a*); but a verb with a meaning similar to that of another also readily changes from the simple form into this one,—the conjunction meaning *ánd, so that,* Job x. 8, Ps. vii. 15, Mic. iv. 8. Finally, the sequence need not necessarily be connected with the very last particular mentioned, but may proceed from anything whatever that precedes, Jer. v. 7, vi. 14.

b. The *consecution of thought*, however, is presented in such a way that (1) a *conclusion* is drawn from what goes before; as, וַיָּקָם *so it was confirmed,* Gen. xxiii. 20, Joel ii. 27. (2) What follows is the more pointedly attached to a thought which, though incomplete, is emphatic through being prefixed; or it is attached to a particular idea; and what was broken off is again joined on more closely: the conjunction then corresponds in meaning to our *so, so that, e.g.* וּפִילַגְשׁוֹ וַתֵּלֶד גַּם הִיא *and his concubine* (with regard to her), *then, she also bare,* Gen. xxii. 24, Isa. xliv. 12, Jer. vi. 19, Job xxxvi. 7, Dan. viii. 25, xi. 15, 2 Chron. i. 5 (where we must read שָׁם), לְמַעַן שִׁמְךָ וְסָלַחְתָּ *for Thy name's sake, then* (or, therefore), *Thou wilt pardon,* or simply, *then pardon,* Ps. xxv. 11, Isa. xliv. 14, 1 Kings ii. 6. This construction frequently occurs after a statement of time, abruptly put first; as, עֶרֶב וִידַעְתֶּם *in the evening, then shall ye know,* Ex. xvi. 6, 7, xvii. 4, [844] Gen. iii. 5, xxii. 4, Jer. vii. 25, Prov. xxiv. 27; also, after an interrogative proposition which requires a new reference and inference, as, *what is man that Thou knowest him?* (see § 342*a*)—where, however, כִּי *that* may also be used as the connective particle, in the same way as with us (see § 337*a*); and lastly, after a protasis which takes the form of a relative proposition, as after יַעַן *because,* 1 Sam. xv. 23, אֲשֶׁר

he who, whoever, Ex. ix. 21, where, however, this closer attachment of the apodosis may also be omitted.[1]

345*a*. There are cases, however, in which these two tense-forms, employed in consecutive discourse, though still capable of being used in complete accordance with the idea of the passage, are nevertheless set aside in favour of the simple forms. For, in the former, the Vav and the verb-form are connected in the closest and most inseparable manner, so that the meaning is conditioned by the combination formed. If, however, another word than the verb necessarily forces its way in at the beginning of the proposition, so that the copulative particle cannot but be immediately prefixed to that word, while the verb follows it, then that combination is broken up, and the whole form thereby destroyed; the members of the compound, accordingly, now appear by themselves, and stripped of accessories, viz. the simple copulative particle, and the corresponding simple tense-form, which would be used if there were no such consecution of discourse; hence, וְ־כָתַב for וַיִּכְתֹּב, and וְ־יִכְתֹּב for וְכָתַב. This takes place (1) with לֹא, which must always *precede* the verb (see § 320*b*), but cannot stand before the conjunction; the operation of this influence extends even to such a case as Mic. vi. 14 (mentioned in § 343*b*, *c*). Moreover, since this וְ retains its consecutive force, וְלֹא before the imperfect may even signify *that not* (*i.e.* in order that . . . not, lest), whether it be the present or the future that is spoken of, Ex. xxviii. 35, 43, xxx. 20 f., Lev. x. 9, Deut. xvii. 17 (cf. ver. 20), 1 Kings ii. 6, Jer. x. 4, xi. 21, Jonah iii. 9, Neh. vi. 9, and similarly, after וְאַל has previously been used, Jer. xxv. 6, xxxvii. 20, xxxviii. 24 f.; here it is to be observed that the וְ joined with this לֹא may gradually be dropped, so that this case exactly corresponds to that of the Latin *ne*, Ex. xxviii. 32, xxxix. 23. Further, the וְ used with the perfect of sequence may also mean *that*, in the sense of *in order that*. (2) The same separation is made in the case of any other word which the sense requires to be prefixed, *e.g.* for

[1] In 2 Chron. viii. 9, אֲשֶׁר also, in the sense of [the conjunction] *that*, before לֹא, seems to form such an apodosis; the Septuagint wholly omits the word, and in actual fact the passage would be better without it. The case is too exceptional to allow the thought that it is an imitation of the Syriac construction by means of ܕ.

the sake of forming an antithesis (see § 309); thus, וַיִּקְרָא וְיִקְרָא, Gen. i. 10. Even in cases where the Vav of sequence is maintained, however, there may likewise be a slighter antithesis, either because the proposition consists merely of the verb, or because no other word can have the antithesis attached to it; but this is rare (see § 340*a*), Jer. iv. 10, xxx. 11, Ps. vii. 5, lxxiii. 14, Job iii. 26, xxii. 13, xxiv. 22, xxxii. 3.

b. Especially in the case of protases of considerable extent and importance, however, the [845] consecutive arrangement is always unwillingly abandoned; so that, in order to keep up the consecutive force, the appropriate Vav, with the simplest substantive verb, הָיָה *to be*, is first prefixed by way of preliminary; the proper verb then follows, either with the Vav of sequence again, or, more loosely, without this, in the simple tense-form.[1] This happens most frequently before a new *specification of time* (where it seems really more important to mark the progress of the events), and before any word having the same meaning; more rarely before other stronger protases, but never before the monosyllabic לֹא. Thus (1) וַיְהִי; as, וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי כֵן *and it came to pass afterwards, that . . .*; וַיְהִי בְּבֹאוֹ *and it came to pass in his coming* (*i.e.* when he came), *that . . .*; וַיְהִי הוּא מִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה *and it came to pass, he worshipping* (i.e. while he was worshipping, see § 341*c*), *that . . .*, Isa. xxxvii. 38; *and it came to pass, the best valleys had been filled* (*i.e.* after they had been filled),—a circumstantial clause,—Isa. xxii. 7, 8, 2 Kings viii. 21 (in 2 Chron. xxi. 9, הוּא is omitted, to the detriment of the text); וַיְהִי הַנִּשְׁאָרִים וַיָּפֻצוּ *and it came to pass, those who were left* (Lat. *si qui superant*) *fled*, 1 Sam. x. 11, xi. 11. Other cases still, of rarer occurrence, are found in Num. ix. 6, 1 Kings xviii. 12, xx. 6, Ezek. xlvii. 10, 22.[2]

[1] For something very similar in Coptic, see Ewald's *Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen*, i. p. 37 ff. It is precisely this peculiarity of style which is so much imitated by the Hellenistic in its use of *καὶ ἐγένετο*, until, in Luke, it gradually becomes more and more of a loose, floating expression, which is continually presenting itself.

[2] In these two passages of Ezekiel, וְהָיָה is placed before the imperfect merely because the latter may then introduce a circumstantial clause (see § 341*b*). But, in ver. 22, we must next strike out of וּלְהַגֵּרִים the לְ (which also offends against what is laid down in § 244*a*), and translate thus: *then, when ye divide it among yourselves by lot for an inheritance, let also the strangers . . . be . . .*

Not till a very late period does it give way to the feeble וְ, in cases where it would be employed, were the style more classic, as Ezra ix. 1, 3, x. 1. (2) וְהָיָה (on which see § 342*b*); as, וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא *and it happens* (shall come to pass) *on that day, when* . . ., וְהָיָה אִם *and then, if* (*i.e.* whenever), Gen. xxxviii. 9, Num. xxi. 9; also, in many similar instances, as before the accusative of time, Isa. xxx. 32;[1] cf. besides, Gen. iv. 14, Ex. iv. 16, xviii. 22, Deut. vii. 12, 1 Kings xvii. 4, Isa. iii. 24, vii. 22, Hos. ii. 1. It is but rarely, and more in somewhat later pieces of composition, that וְהָיָה is used for וַיְהִי, 1 Sam. xxv. 20, 2 Sam. vi. 16 (1 Chron. xv. 29), 2 Kings iii. 15, Jer. iii. 9, and וַיְהִי for וְהָיָה, 2 Sam. v. 24 (1 Chron. xiv. 15), and in the Book of Ruth; these, however, are not unexpected innovations (see § 343). It is also an innovation to make such a וְהָיָה refer, by agreement in person, etc., to the nearest subject, as in Jer. xlii. 16 f. The simple form יְהִי also occurs in this way, in excited discourse (see § 343*b*), Job xx. 23.

Since, however, such a parenthetical proposition also may pass into the current of discourse, it is often only the deeper meaning which pervades the whole that enables us to decide where the main proposition is resumed.

346*a*. At a full *stop* in the narrative or representation, [846] the verb may follow, designedly stripped of this indication of sequence (*i.e.* in the plain tense-form), an explanatory and accessory action being appended, without any copulative particle; as, 1 Sam. vi. 12, Gen. xxi. 14, Num. xi. 32, Isa. iii. 26; cf. § 349*a*. It is seldom that the verb which describes an accessory action is attached by means of the simple וְ, as in Gen. xxi. 25, xxviii. 6, Amos i. 11.[2]

b. If, again, in simple narrative, the [simple] imperfect is sometimes continued, after וְ and other words, when we would perhaps expect to meet with the simple perfect, it will be found, on closer inspection of such cases, that there is always something simultaneous, or of considerable duration, described; as, Ex. viii. 20, 1 Chron. xi. 8, 2 Sam. ii. 28, xv. 37, 1 Kings i. 1

[1] Here, *every passing over* is to be regarded as such an accusative of time, and equivalent to *as often as* (the rod) *passes over*; cf. further, on ver. 31 f., what is stated above, on p. 185.

[2] In Arabic, however, the use of the simple و comes to preponderate very much in such cases, so that فَ, on the whole, is more rarely employed.

(cf. ver. 2), viii. 8, xx. 33, Jer. lii. 7, and in the *Kethib* 1 Sam. xxvii. 4, Josh. xv. 63. But, in poetry, the modified *imperfect* may also, of course, be retained when it is separated from its וְ, and even when this is dropped; as, Job iv. 12, Prov. xxiv. 32, Ps. xviii. 12, lxix. 22, lxxviii. 15, 26, 29, 45–50, lxxxi. 7 f., cvi. 18 f., cvii. 6, 13 f.; the simple וְ is also intentionally joined to the imperfect in Ps. cvii. 19 f., 26 ff., in accordance with what is stated in § 343*b*. The modified *perfect* is more frequently retained in this way, at least among the poets; as, Prov. i. 22, ix. 4, cf. ver. 16, Job xxviii. 10, cf. ver. 11, Isa. viii. 8, xi. 8, xiii. 10, xviii. 5, xxx. 32, Hos. iv. 10, Mic. i. 11, ii. 4, Zech. ix. 15, xiii. 9,[1] Ps. xi. 2, xxii. 22, lvii. 4, lxiv. 6, even after פֶּן (see § 342*b*), and the infinitive with לְ indicative of design, Ps. xxxviii. 17, Job v. 11, xxviii. 25. The case is different when the perfect has been inserted as a short circumstantial clause (see § 341*b*).

c. When any *parenthetical proposition* begins, whether it be a relative one with אֲשֶׁר *who*, כִּי *for*, etc., or a circumstantial clause (see § 341), the simple tense-form always reappears.[2] The *perfect* may then, in a representation given of things which once occurred, indicate what was *at that time* already finished, and thus express our *pluperfect* (see §§ 135, 341*a*, *c*);[3] [847] also, quite simply, after וַיְהִי and a specification of time (see § 345*a*), as in Gen. viii. 13. For the same reason, in the second great division of time [viz. the future], the perfect,

[1] But, in Isa. xxviii. 2, it is better, for the sake of clearness, to read וְהִנִּיחַ instead of הִנִּיחַ: *hé* (this mighty one whom God has already in His hand, viz. the Assyrian) *throws* it (the crown) *to the earth with force.* Notice has already been taken of the similar phenomena that appear in Arabic; see *Gram. Arab.* p. 347.

[2] It still remains a strange fact that the imperfect יַכֻּהוּ is used after אֲשֶׁר in simple narrative, even twice in reference to the same thing, 2 Kings viii. 29, ix. 15; in 2 Chron. xxii. 6, however, the perfect is found instead, and perhaps יָכָּה was a provincialism for הִכָּה. Equally strange, at least when the accents are considered, is מָחָה in 2 Kings xxi. 13: we rather expect מָחֹה, with an accent joining it to what follows.

[3] A most remarkable construction is וַיֵּלְכוּ־הָלְכוּ *and they went . . . they had gone*, 1 Sam. xvii. 13, where the verb, first placed in sequence, is afterwards more definitely explained as the pluperfect by its own perfect; cf. ver. 14.

introduced in this way, may denote our future perfect, Isa. xvi. 12 (cf. a similar construction with בְּטֶרֶם *before*, Zeph. ii. 2).

d. That אָז *then* (as 1 Kings ix. 10 f., even in the apodosis), and some other similar particles, may be construed, in the same way as the strong וַ, with the modified imperfect, has already been mentioned in § 233*b*.

347*a*. 2. The Vav of sequence before the *voluntative* and *imperative* expresses mere consecution of thought, by referring the consequence to the volition, or by representing the volition, and the endeavour after what is to be attained, as the consequence and conclusion resulting from a possibility previously before the mind. It is, for the most part, only an expression of an excited and impassioned character, for the Vav of sequence with the perfect, after words which occur somewhat abruptly, as in Ex. xii. 3, xv. 2, Gen. xlix. 25, Ps. lix. 13, lxix. 33, Jer. xiii. 10; but is especially used for the purpose of stating the design of the previous action, and thus corresponds to the Latin *ut* with the subjunctive; as, הֶרֶף וַאֲדַבְּרָה *desist, that I may* (thus, when thou dost desist) *speak;* הַנִּיחוּ לוֹ וִיקַלֵּל *let him alone that he may curse* (*i.e.* let him curse without being disturbed), 1 Sam. xv. 16, Prov. xx. 22, Jer. xvii. 14; hence וְאַל *that not, lest,* 2 Chron. xxxv. 21; *who is wise* וְיָבֵן *so that he understands* this? Hos. xiv. 10, Ps. cvii. 43, Jer. ix. 11, Mal. i. 10, Ezra i. 3;[1] *God is not man* וִיכַזֵּב *that He should lie,* Num. xxiii. 19; *Thou desirest not sacrifice* וְאֶתְּנָה *that I should give* them (if Thou didst require them), Ps. li. 9, 18, lv. 13, xlix. 10, lxxii. 15, xxvii. 6, ix. 10 f., lii. 8, Hos. vi. 1, Jer. v. 1, Zech. x. 6, 1 Sam. ii. 10, Ex. ii. 7, xiv. 4, 17. The imperative, however, is employed in this way with great brevity and force, prescribing the certain consequence, as if it were an *imperat. futuri;*[2] *let him pray for thee* וֶחְיֵה *and live* (*i.e.* that thou mayest then live, as I wish), Gen. xx. 7, xii. 2, xlii. 18, Ruth i. 9, 2 Kings v. 16, Job

[1] Here we must strike out יְהִי, or read יְהוָה instead; cf. ver. 5 and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 23.

[2] Something very similar, and stronger, is often found in Ethiopic (*Liber Jubil.* c. 2, p. 10, 4; c. 3, p. 14, 11. 16; Ethiopic version of Gen. iii. 14–19). In the other cognate languages, such an imperative is more rare; cf. however, Kölle, *On the Bornu Language*, p. 245.

xi. 6, Ex. iii. 10, and still stronger instances in 2 Sam. xxi. 3, 1 Kings i. 12; in the strongest cases, even the conjunction is omitted, Ps. cx. 2, in the same way as stated in § *b*. This mode of construction also, though more rarely, follows immediately on an action which is represented simply as past, so that it corresponds to the Latin construction of *ut* with the imperfect subjunctive, Isa. viii. 11, xlii. 6 (cf. xliv. 24), Lam. i. 19; it is also employed in negative propositions, in which even the simple לֹא [without וְ] is sufficient (see § 345*a*), Neh. xiii. 19, 2 Chron. xxiii. 19. The strongest use is made of it in cases like Job vi. 10, where an actual wish follows. That such a voluntative may easily be repeated in the same way as any imperative, lies in the nature of the case; [848] it may also, however, at any time readily pass over into the tranquil flow of discourse, through the employment of Vav consecutive with the perfect.

b. Since, then, the second proposition always thus presupposes the first as its condition, the first may also be stated merely with reference to the second, so that the double whole forms a brief expression, in the shape of a challenge or demand, for *conditional propositions;* as, *bring an advice* וְתֻפָר *that it may be frustrated, i.e.* if ye bring an advice, it shall (assuredly) be frustrated; דִּרְשׁוּנִי וִחְיוּ *seek me and live, i.e.* if ye seek me, ye shall live, Isa. viii. 9, 10, Amos v. 4, 6, 14, Prov. iii. 3, 4, iv. 6, 8, 10, xvi. 3, xx. 13, Jer. xxv. 5, xxxv. 15, Gen. xlii. 18, 2 Chron. xx. 20; both are joined in Ex. viii. 4. Hence, there is a beginning made in the direction of completely dropping the *and* before the second proposition (which must state the consequence of the hypothesis or condition), and thereby only connecting the two propositions the more closely, because the second would now be utterly impossible without the first; as, *cast it down* יְהִי *that it may become,* Ex. vii. 9, Prov. iii. 7, 8, v. 15–18, Ps. xxxvii. 3, cf. ver. 27, xlv. 17 f., l. 14 f., li. 10, 16, lxxii. 3, 5, cxviii. 19, cxix. 17, 145, lxi. 8, ciii. 5, cxl. 9, Job ix. 32, 34, xl. 32; cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* ii. p. 271. But here also (as in § 345*a*) לֹא, or another word, may destroy the union, Isa. viii. 10, 2 Kings xviii. 32, Prov. xix. 25.

348*a*. 3. Again, וְ in any other connection also, and before any word, may indicate consecution of thought; as, וּדְעוּ *know*

then (therefore), Ps. iv. 4, 2 Kings iv. 41. Mal. iii. 6; וְאַתָּה תִּשְׁמַע *then thou wilt hear*, 1 Kings viii. 30, 32, 34, 36, 39, cf. ver. 43, where the וְ is omitted, because it merely indicates the apodosis, and וְשָׁמַעְתָּ without the emphatic *thou*, in ver. 49; or thus, *thy father's servant* (as regards that), וַאֲנִי מֵאָז *such* was *I formerly, but now* וַאֲנִי עַבְדֶּךָ *I am thy servant;* 2 Sam. xv. 34, *thy hope* (with regard to this) וְתֹם *it* (cf. § 303*b*), or, in English, merely *thát* is *the integrity of thy ways,* Job iv. 6, xv. 17, xxiii. 12, xxv. 5, xxxvi. 26, 1 Sam. xxvi. 22,[1] 2 Sam. xxii. 41, xxiii. 3, 4, Ps. cxv. 7, 1 Chron. xxviii. 21, and likewise before a circumstantial clause, Ps cxli. 5. This וְ is also used for the purpose of giving an immediate answer to a question, Job xxviii. 20 f. (where, accordingly, it also stands before the plain perfect). Before the imperfect verbs (see § 299), it must express sequence of time, Gen. v. 24, Isa. xli. 17, Prov. xii. 7. In this case, accordingly, it has become exactly the Arabic فَ.

b. Hence also the compound וְלָכֵן *now therefore* (or, *thus then*) may be used, Isa. viii. 7; but this indication of sequence is usually omitted, when it [viz. the consecution] has already been expressed by another particle at the head of the proposition. But, on the other hand, after this Vav of sequence, with its modified tense-form [849] to which it is inseparably attached, the interrogative particle הֲ also disappears;[2] so that, in cases like וְהוֹחַלְתִּי, in the sense of *ánd do I wait?* or, *should I wait?* Job xxxii. 16, the interrogative meaning arises merely from the context; so also Ps. cxli. 6.

349*a*. III. The opposite of each of these two chief kinds of וְ *and*, is formed, both in the case of single words, and in entire propositions, by—

(1.) *Self-explanatory*, or self-corrective discourse; as, בְּנַפְשׁוֹ דָמוֹ *in his soul,* viz. *his blood,* Gen. ix. 4, xi. 30, 1 Kings xiii. 18, Hab. ii. 4, Isa. xxiii. 4, Amos iii. 1; also as in Ps. xix. 8–10. In particular, two verbs which describe what were, originally, simultaneous states or acts, often come more

[1] Here, Tanchum correctly explains it by فَ.

[2] The sole example would be וְהִפְתִּיתָ, Prov. xxiv. 28; but see the Commentary [of Ewald] on the passage.

closely together (see § 285*b*), in order, as it were, by their juxtaposition, to afford mutual explanation; as, *she has been made desolate, sits, i.e.* sits desolate, Isa. iii. 26, Ps. xlv. 5, Job xxviii. 4, xxix. 8, Prov. xxiv. 32, xxvii. 12, Jer. ii. 20, ix. 9; and in this way, merely by not employing *and*, circumstantial clauses even of considerable extent may be reduced to a quite short form, as Isa. xlix. 2. This is still more obvious in the case of whole propositions, particularly in poetic discourse, as Joel ii. 8.

(2.) Discourse in which a *climax* is formed, often in a flight of oratory, 2 Sam. xxiii. 3, Jer. xxxi. 21, xv. 7, Joel i. 14, Amos iv. 5, Job xxxii. 15 f.; or, in order to depict the fulness of the things, Job xx. 17, Prov. xxii. 5, Ps. x. 3, Lam. ii. 16, or the rapidity of the actions, Judg. v. 27; or in a long, and what would be an endless enumeration of homogeneous things, Gen. i. 11, cf. vers. 12, 21; in this case, also, it may perhaps be only the third word from which וְ is dropped, as in Ps. xlv. 5, 9, Deut. xxix. 22, 1 Kings vi. 7. The same thing may happen in the case of entire propositions, as Prov. i. 4 f.

(3.) *Brief*, abrupt discourse, Judg. v. 13, 2 Kings xi. 13; the same construction is also employed for making an additional remark, 1 Sam. xxii. 15, or in rapid enumeration, Isa. i. 1, Ezek. x. 12, Ps. lxxxviii. 2.

By means of such a condensed, compact mode of description, also, there is often formed the most appropriate style for a brief proverbial saying, a kind of composition exactly suited for monumental inscriptions; as, Prov. xxvii. 12 (see § 285*b*), a proverb whose colouring is already changed in xxii. 3 (see § 357*b*).

b. There are also connected expressions in which וְ, from a desire for greater condensation, gradually disappears; thus especially מַה לִּי לוֹ (on which see § 325*b*), לְדֹר דֹּר *to generation of generation*, Ex. xvii. 16, or לְדֹר דֹּרִים *to generation of generations*, for לְדֹר וָדֹר *to generation and generation*; cf. the similar contractions in Mic. vii. 12, Nah. iii. 8. Moreover, there are found such combinations of words as תְּמוֹל שִׁלְשֹׁם *yesterday, the day before yesterday, i.e.* generally, *formerly;*[1] מְהֵרָה קַל

[1] On the other hand, מָחָר הַשְּׁלִישִׁית, 1 Sam. xx. 12, is, *the third next day* (see § 220*b*), *i.e.* the day after to-morrow, מָחָר, as a name indicative of time, being fem. (see § 174*d*).

[850] *hastening quickly*, Isa. v. 26; גֵּר וְתוֹשָׁב *a stranger and sojourner*, Gen. xxiii. 4, Lev. xxv. 35, 47, and the same also, without וְ, in ver. 47b.

350*a*. As the perfect and imperfect are the sole main divisions and supports of the verb, so also, according to the form which the Hebrew has now attained, all the various other modes in which the idea of a verb may be apprehended, always revert, in the progress of the discourse (with or without the copulative particle), to those two leading forms. In the beginning of the discourse, the style of expression may be more definite and forcible, or, on the other hand, it may be more brief; but when the discourse proceeds in a calm and dispassionate manner, all the different shades resolve themselves once more into the two leading ones; and it is, for all this, indifferent whether the second proposition is introduced by the *and*, or not (see § 349). Hence—

(1.) The stronger modes of expression return to the ordinary ones; even an exceptional perfect or imperfect is not long continued (see §§ 135*c*, 342*f*). The *imperative* and *voluntative* forms are continued only so long as the vigour of the discourse is still fresh,[1] and are, therefore, rarely maintained through several verbs; yet it is precisely in their case that such a continuation is still most frequent, Ps. xxii. 28, xlv. 11 f., Gen. xli. 34–36: the discourse usually changes at once into the unimpassioned representation of what is to be done, hence, into the *imperfect*, Judg. vi. 39c, or the *perfect* with the Vav of sequence, Deut. xxxiii. 7. Accordingly, אַל is correctly followed by וְלֹא, Amos v. 5, 1 Kings xx. 8; so also, the imperative is not used at all, whenever the description of the *sequence* becomes predominant, 1 Sam. xii. 14: nevertheless, when the tone of the discourse becomes more urgent, the voluntative or imperative may always be resumed, Ex. xiv. 2, 2 Kings x. 3, xi. 8, Isa. ii. 9, Job xi. 13 f.; and it is only in the case of the modes of expression mentioned in §§ 347 and 338 that these forms are often kept up for a longer time, Job vi. 8–10, Ps. v. 12, 2 Kings v. 10. So, too, the force of the *infinitive absolute* (see §§ 280, 328) does not last long: it soon resolves itself more quietly into the appropriate tense-form; and even לֹא *not*, whenever it comes in, enforces this

[1] Cf. J. Zimmermann's *Akra Language* (1858), i. p. 112.

transition, since the inf. abs. never stands except by itself, as כָּתוֹת לֹא יַחְמֹל, *breaking, not sparing!* Isa. xxx. 14, xxxi. 5, lviii. 6 f., Jer. ii. 2, xxiii. 14, Job xv. 35, Ps. lxv. 11. No *participle,* too, used as a circumstantial cause, remains long in its peculiar form, whether the consecution of time demands the Vav of sequence, with its appropriate tense-form, or not, Prov. vii. 8, Isa. vi. 2, Ps. xix. 2 f.; nor can the participle readily stand in this way with לֹא, and even when it is so joined, in poetry, it at once resolves itself again into the finite verb, 2 Sam. iii. 34.

b. (2.) The *briefer* modes of expression are not maintained. The *infinitive construct,* which is a short form presenting the general idea of the verb, and merely dependent on the context, resolves itself once more, as the discourse progresses, into the usual current mode of speech; thus, לָשׂוּם וְיַשְׁמִיד *to make* (*i.e.* in order that he may make) the land a desolation, *and destroy* its sinners, Isa. xiii. 9, 2 Chron. xvi. 7, [851] Ex. viii. 5, 1 Sam. iv. 19, Amos viii. 6, Hos. ix. 7, Mic. vi. 16, Jer. xxx. 14 f., Prov. i. 4 f., Josh. xxiii. 7; hence also,—teach (us) *to number* (*i.e.* that we may number) our days, *and that we may bring* (וְנָבִא voluntative, according to § 224*b*) a pure (wise) heart, Ps. xc. 12.[1] In like manner, the *participle,* which is another means of briefly expressing a relative proposition (see §§ 168*b* and 335*a*), is changed for the finite verb, as, מֵקִים דָּל יָרִים אֶבְיוֹן *who raiseth up the lowly, exalts the needy,* 1 Sam. ii. 8, cf. ver. 7, Isa. xxx. 2, xxxi. 1, xlviii. 1, Amos v. 7, 8, 12, vi. 6, Ps. lxxviii. 39; even in a case of mere repetition, Isa. x. 1 (see § 313*a*), lvii. 3, Ps. xiv. 4, xxii. 30, Dan. xii. 12; cf. Ps. xv. 3, 4, to see the change made by לֹא (§ 320*b*). A like change is made in the case of an *adjective,* used in the same way, Hab. i. 13, Job vi. 14 (according to the present reading). The new element superadded in the construction of the infinitive construct and of the participle maintains its influence; hence, the force of the preposition joined with the infinitive, and that of the relative idea contained in the participle, continue to be felt; but the simple verb-idea—which may now, in fact, stand quite by itself, and yet be intelligible—is at once continued in the definite tense, Isa. xxxvi. 17.

[1] In Ethiopic, also, a similar construction is used; as, *Book of Enoch,* xciii. 12; *Jubil.* c. 2, p. 8.

351*a*. Anything superadded to a negative proposition must be at once attached by means of וְלֹא *nor*, Ex. iii. 19;[1] cf. § 352*a*. But, in a sentence which goes straight on, there is no need for repeating the negation of the preceding proposition, inasmuch as the powerful influence of the negative, placed at the beginning, continues to be felt. So also in prose, with the Vav of sequence, Num. xvi. 14, Ps. xliv. 19, Job iii. 10; similarly after פֶּן (see § 342*c*), Isa. vi. 10, and in cases where, at the same time (see § 347*a*), the voluntative appears; as, *let him not die, that his people may become few*, Deut. xxxiii. 6, Jer. v. 28; hence also without the וְ (see § 347*a*), which is the boldest construction, Ps. cxl. 9.[2] Moreover, in poetry, the *and* is often omitted when a climax is formed, Isa. xxiii. 4, xxxviii. 18, Ps. ix. 19, xxxviii. 2, lxxv. 6, 1 Sam. ii. 3. A still bolder construction is adopted when the verb in its second member changes its position, Prov. xxx. 3.[3]

In *synonymous* propositions which run on continuously, and in which a thought is only divided into two halves, poetic writers may, similarly, omit from the second a word (especially a preposition) occurring in the first, because it is sufficiently evident from the continuation and the context, and because its influence still continues to be felt in this mode of delivering the discourse; thus Judg. v. 9, 11, Isa. xv. 8, xxviii. 6, xl. 21, xlviii. 14, lxi. 7, Jer. iii. 23, Ezek. xxv. 9, 15, Hab. iii. 15, Job xxxiv. 10. Bolder constructions are found in cases like Job xxii. 23, and xx. 2, where a longer preposition on that account stands by itself with retrospective force; [852] Ps. xlix. 14, where, in the middle of the second member, and before a relative proposition, we must supply, from the first member, דֶּרֶךְ *the way of those who;* and Ps. cxxvii. 3b, where we find, in the absolute state, and without the article, a noun to which, in meaning, there belongs the second of two preced-

[1] *I.E.* according to the common reading in this passage; but, according to the Septuagint, and Ex. vi. 1, xiii. 9, we must read אִם לֹא. Even long ago, וְלֹא was incorrectly rendered *unless*, *except;* see *Journal asiatique* (1862), i. p. 64.

[2] On the other hand, according to this reading, the second proposition in Ezek. xi. 11 would be a mere circumstantial clause.

[3] In Job xxx. 20, however, the negative cannot be repeated with וַתִּתְבֹּנֶן from the first member.

ing nouns placed in construction.[1] If, then, the first member states a reason (*e.g.* by using the preposition עַל *on account of, because of*, and a following infinitive), the meaning requires that, whenever a finite verb follows, the conjunction *because* shall be employed in forming the continuation, as Hos. ix. 7, cf. Ezek. xxxvi. 18.

More rarely, a word is for the first time introduced in a second proposition, corresponding to the first, to which also the word necessarily belongs: this is possible only through the poetic parallelism, which, generally, is the cause of many an instance of more free arrangement and more bold construction of the words, Ps. xx. 8, Zech. ix. 17, Jer. l. 39, Isa. xlviii. 11, lxiii. 18, Dan. xii. 3 (cf. xi. 33). A stronger case of the kind, too, is Isa. x. 5; here, not merely does בְּיָדָם (which is to be regarded as a relative clause) likewise depend on the meaning of the first member, but there is also introduced, in the second member, a further variety in expression:—

O Asshur who art the rod of mine anger,
And who, like a staff, dost convey my wrath.[2]

b. Since the relative-sign stands very loosely at the beginning of the proposition (see § 331 ff.), there are attached to a relative-sentence, in whatever manner it may be introduced, a multitude of others, of every kind and variety,—just in the same way as they are joined to the simple proposition, without any further internal change, Ps. xv. 3–5, xxii. 30, iv. 2, xcii. 16, Job xxxvii. 23, Prov. xvi. 27, xxii. 11, ix. 13, and in the address in Amos vi. 1.[3] Similarly, a proposition like *man* בִּיקָר *in grand estate* (*i.e.* who lives in splendour) may be immediately succeeded by וְלֹא יָבִין *but is without understanding* (see § 282*f*), Ps. xlix. 21 (cf. ver. 13 in the same way without וְ), and, without the *and*, Neh. xi. 17. This easy mode of attachment is far from being capable of imitation by us.

[1] This, however, cannot be carried so far that, in the second member, merely the second of two combined prepositions would be repeated after the first occurrence: in Gen. xlix. 25, וְאֵת should be corrected into וְאֵל.

[2] Properly,—and in whose hand, as a sceptre, is my wrath. The first member speaks of the Assyrian as if he were himself the rod, as in ver. 15; the second introduces him as holding the rod. The הוּא is, therefore, the copula, and the words הוּא בְיָדָם are correct.

[3] The same thing holds in Luke i. 49 f.

The relative-sentence, also, is especially ready to change its peculiar construction, as soon as possible, for the Vav of sequence, so that, in the neat, short style of certain writers, there may also be used such brief expressions as, זֶרַע מְנָאֵף וַתִּזְנֶה *the seed of the adulterer and she* (the mother, consequently) *played the harlot,* Isa. lvii. 5, Dan. viii. 22, cf. xi. 22. Similarly, an impersonal relative proposition (see § 336) may be attached without any introductory mark whatever, Amos iii. 9 f., Hos. vii. 10, Jer. ii. 19, li. 46, Eccles. vi. 10.

c. A peculiar kind of brevity in description [853] has further arisen from the fact that a second verb, connected with the preceding by means of a וְ, may be subordinated to it merely in the *infinitive absolute* (see § 280), as if it were sufficient, after the discourse has once been begun, to attach a succeeding act, by means of the conjunction, as briefly as possible. Here, the form in which the preceding verb, in accordance with the meaning of the proposition, appears, is a matter of indifference: every possible shade and variety of proposition is represented by this general and indefinite form.[1] In the older pieces of composition, such brevity is still rare; and it occurs most readily in cases where the action [indicated by the infinitive] is simultaneous with that which is previously mentioned, and where there is no change in the person; as, Gen. xli. 43, Ex. viii. 1, xxxii. 6 (where the inf. const. with לְ precedes), 1 Sam. xxii. 13, xxv. 26, 33 (but וּלְהוֹשִׁיעַ receives a different turn in ver. 31), Amos iv. 4 f., Jer. vii. 18, xix. 13, cf. with xxxii. 29, xliv. 17 f., Zech. iii. 4, vii. 5, xii. 10, Judg. vii. 19, Isa. viii. 6, Eccles. viii. 9, Dan. ix. 5, 11, 1 Chron. xxi. 24. In later writers, however, this brief construction comes to be more and more freely employed, as, שַׁבְתִּי וְרָאוֹ *I turned and saw,* Eccles. ix. 11, cf. iv. 1, 7, Jer. xiv. 5, xxxvii. 21, Zech. iii. 4, Neh. viii. 8, ix. 8, 13, Esth. ii. 3, iii. 13, vi. 9, ix. 6, 12, 2 Chron. vii. 3, xxviii. 19; and at last it becomes so prevalent, that, in giving a rapid description, even a large number of verbs may be presented thus, in outline, Jer. xxxii. 44, Esth. ix. 16–18.

[1] Cf. a similar usage in Ethiopic, as *Liber Jubil.* pp. 10, 15 ff., and in the beginning of the *Organon Maryam.* But in the Coptic, also, the same thing frequently occurs; see the Sahidic version of Isa. i. 4, 7 (Ewald's *Sprachw. Abhandl.* i. p. 50).

Moreover, in a cursory style of speech, there is also a beginning made in the employment of the *infin. const.* with לְ (see § 237*c*), in this way, as a continuation of the [preceding finite] verb; see Jer. xvii. 10, xix. 12, xliv. 14, 19, Job xxxiv. 8, Isa. xliv. 28, lvi. 6, Eccles. ix. 1, 2 Chron. vii. 17 (but there is a different reading in 1 Kings ix. 4), viii. 13, xxxvi. 19 (where the inf. is separated from the וְ), Neh. viii. 13. The earliest instances of this free and easy mode of employing the infinitive with וְ *and*, as a continuation of the [finite] verb, are cases in which a further description is to be given of what must be done; thus, Ex. xxxii. 29, and especially Lev. x. 9–11, 1 Sam. viii. 12; or in which an accessory circumstance is to be more fully described, 1 Sam. xiv. 21: on both constructions, see § 237*c*.

But, indeed, the same brevity begins to show itself, now and then, after similar particles also (see § 352); thus, after אוֹ, Lev. xxv. 14, Deut. xiv. 21, after וְאַף *and also*, Hab. ii. 15, and others, cf. 1 Chron. x. 13, 2 Chron. xi. 22, xii. 12. The strongest feature in this construction is the fact that, for distinctness' sake, even a personal pronoun may be added [to the infinitive], Eccles. iv. 2, Esth. ix. 1.

(2.) *The stronger kinds of Conjunctions.*

352*a*. אוֹ *or*,[1] is most closely allied to וְ *and*, since, like the latter, it states something new, though merely as a possibility; hence, it may also, [854] like the Vav of sequence, and with like force, be used before the *perfect*, Num. v. 14. It is also corrective, *or rather*, and is used in this way with the second question, as different from אִם (see § 324*c*), Judg. xviii. 19, Gen. xxiv. 55. Hence, it easily assumes also the meaning *if haply*, Lat. *sin*, Lev. iv. 23, 28; אוֹ מָה *what if possibly* . . .,

[1] When it is considered that the Armenian *kâm*, the Turkish واستر, the Polish *lub* or *lubo*, and Russian *libo* (Ger. *lieber*), are all derived from *willing*, *wishing;* when, further, it is borne in mind that many other languages also derive the name of the disjunctive particle from the same idea (Lat. *vel:* on the Bornu, see Kölle, *Bornu Language*, p. 146),—there can be no doubt that אוֹ comes from אוה = אָבָה, *to be willing*, *wish*, and that the Sanskrit *vâ* is shortened from *val*.

1 Sam. xx. 10. After a preceding negative proposition, it has a lessening force, *nor*, and is so used in the middle of the proposition, Prov. xxxi. 4, *Kethib*. At other times, in necessitous cases, וְ also is sufficient to indicate the meaning *or*, 2 Sam. xxiii. 7, Isa. xvii. 6, Ps. xc. 4; the strongest instances are Jer. xx. 17, xliv. 28.

b. גַּם *also*, expresses *mutual relation* in such a way that the two sides are represented as belonging to each other; גַּם שְׁנֵיהֶם is exactly *uterque*, 1 Sam. xxv. 43, Prov. xvii. 15, xx. 10, 12, Ps. cxxxiii. 1; similarly, *Abel* גַּם הוּא *likewise* (see § 314*a*); and at the beginning of new propositions, with emphasis, גַּם אֲנִי *I also*, Job vii. 11, Ps. lii. 7, Amos iv. 6, Mic. vi. 13, Zech. ix. 11, cf. §§ 354, 359. In a wider sense, it is more simply indicative of increase, *also, even*, before entire propositions or single words; it is seldom that וְ stands in this way before single words, Mic. iv. 5, 2 Chron. xxvii. 5, Amos iv. 10, Hos. viii. 6, Ps. xxxi. 12, Eccles. v. 6;[1] hence, in a negative proposition, it signifies *not even*, Amos v. 22. Placed before an entire proposition, וְגַם means *besides, moreover*, 1 Kings i. 6.

אַף, or וְאַף, is merely a stronger copulative particle than וְ (with which it is etymologically connected) *also*—that there may be nothing wanting; *even*—in forming a climax, like our *ánd* when uttered with emphasis; it also likes to be placed before entire propositions, Ps. xviii. 49; hence, וְאַף גַּם *and even also*, Lev. xxvi. 44. It very frequently occurs in certain poets, Ps. lxv. 14, and is used interchangeably, in meaning, with גַּם, Job xxxii. 10, 17.[2] Cf. further, § 354*c*.

c. On the other hand, עִם (see § 217*h*), in the sense of *as well as*, may connect two adjectives; this is a very rare construction, however, and is more of a provincialism, 1 Sam. xvi. 12, xvii. 42. When used in joining two nouns, it is merely a stronger *and*, 2 Sam. i. 24,[3] Amos iv. 10.

[1] On the other hand, in Ezek. xxxiv. 26, the more correct meaning is, "I make them, and what is round about my hill, a blessing," see § 339*b*.

[2] In Arabic, it has become shortened into فَ, and then assumed the much more general meaning often noticed already.

[3] In the same way as, in Coptic, one noun can be connected with another only by means of ⲛⲉⲙ, *i.e. with*, and one proposition with another by ⲟⲩⲟϩ (from which וְ has been formed by abbreviation); and as many lan-

(3.) *Causal, Inferential, and Antithetical Propositions.*

353*a*. In assigning a *reason* for a statement previously made, it is seldom that [855] nothing more is used than the stronger *ánd* (see §§ 342–8); but this particle is actually so employed, inasmuch as it may signify *accordingly, for* (*because*), as also the Arabic فَ, or rather the stronger فَإِنَّ expresses our [causal conjunction] *for*, Ex. xv. 2, 8, Jonah ii. 4, Isa. viii. 14, x. 27, Ps. lxxvi. 3.[1] כִּי is usually employed, like our *for*, to append a reason for what has been already stated; that this word, however, is properly the relative *because* (ὅτι, and not γάρ), though it also serves to express our *for*, is evident from the fact that two reasons may successively be assigned in this way, כִּי . . . וְכִי *because* . . . *and because*, Gen. xxxiii. 11, Judg. vi. 30; cf. כִּי מָה *for, what* . . .*?* 2 Kings viii. 13. Less frequently do we find, in this case, אֲשֶׁר, which has more the character of a noun (like Lat. *quod*), Gen. vi. 4, 1 Kings iii. 19, viii. 33, cf. 2 Chron. vi. 24; only in Ecclesiastes (*e.g.* vi. 12, viii. 11) is it often thus employed. More definite, however, is יַעַן, an emphatic *because*, found chiefly at the beginning of a new turn in the discourse, and usually distinguished in this way from מַעַן (see § 337*b*); since it is, properly, a noun, like the Germ. *wegen* [cf. the Eng. *because* of, on *account* of], it may be also joined, in poetry, with the *infinitive*, 2 Kings xxii. 19, but it is mostly put before the whole proposition, like כִּי, in the form יַעַן אֲשֶׁר, or simply יַעַן. Here, moreover, עַל *on account of* (see § 217*i*), may be used for the conjunctional phrase *on account of this* (fact) *that*, but it is rarely found without אֲשֶׁר, Ps. cxix. 136 (before לֹא); in accordance with a peculiarity of the later language, the same meaning is more briefly given by לָמָּה, לְמַ׳, 1 Chron. xv. 13 (cf. § 22*a*).

The *ground* of what has already been stated is rendered more strongly prominent by the compound כִּי עַל כֵּן *for there-*

guages distinguish the general idea contained in *and* in accordance with the various kinds of words.

[1] Similarly, in the Odschi, *na* is وَ and فَ as well as *for* (*because*); see Riis, p. 154.

fore,—the reason being adduced the second time by the demonstrative *therefore,* after the relative [conjunction] (like מִי זֶה, § 325*a,* and אַחֲרֵי כֵן, § 337*c*), something like the Lat. *quandoquidem, forasmuch as,* Gen. xviii. 5, xix. 8, xxxiii. 10, xxxviii. 26, Num. x. 31, xiv. 43, Judg. vi. 22, Jer. xxix. 28, xxxviii. 4, 2 Sam. xviii. 20, *Qeri.* For a similar strengthening of יַעַן, which refers more to something new, see § 311*b*.

b. A *conclusion* or *inference,* stronger than can be formed by the Vav of sequence merely (see §§ 342–8), and which, moreover, may be generally applied, is expressed (1) by וְעַתָּה *and now, now therefore, i.e.* since this is so; in letters, it marks the transition to the contents proper, 2 Kings v. 6, x. 2. (2) By עַל כֵּן *on such grounds, therefore;* nearest to this comes לָכֵן *for that reason* (prop. *on account of such* a thing), which is usually inserted at the beginning of an important inference, often of a threatening character, *therefore,* i.e. *assuredly,* Zech. xi. 7, or, *in spite of this,* i.e. *nevertheless,* Jer. v. 2.[1] (3) *Wherefore* (*i.e.* [853] when this is so) is expressed by אָז (see § 103*e*) inserted in the proposition, Eccles. ii. 15.

354*a*. The idea of an *antithesis,* presented during the current of discourse, often lies merely in the context; hence, it is usually indicated in such a way that the feeble וְ precedes (see § 340*a*), but is sometimes also without this mark, by which construction the contrast may be rendered still more sharp, Job vi. 14 f., Ps. xlvi. 4, cxix. 51, 61, Ex. xix. 12 f.; the more pointed *ánd* (see §§ 342–8), as in Job xxii. 13, xxiv. 22, and the still stronger אַף, Ps. lviii. 3, Judg. v. 29, Ps. lxviii. 17, have also more force in relation to a contrast implied in the meaning. It is worth noticing, however, how speedily, in the concise style of later times, our *yet, however,* denoting limitation or restriction, is expressed quite briefly by means of וְ alone, Dan. ix. 25, 27, xi. 24.

Expressions proper for indicating antithesis are וְאוּלָם *however, on the other hand,* seldom merely אוּלָם *on the other hand* (see § 163*f*), from the root אול; also, in certain writings, אָכֵן *but* (see § 105*d*), shortened into אַךְ, Jer. v. 5, Isa. xiv. 15, Jonah ii. 5; and אֲבָל, which properly means *strength* (the root being allied

[1] It has already been shown, in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* for 1829, p. 1403, that לָכֵן is quite different in origin and meaning from لٰكِنْ.

to אָבַר, and also אוּל), hence *certainty, certainly, undoubtedly,* like the Lat. *vero.*[1] While, now, these stronger words have more of a special and restricted meaning, a previous thought, or an objection that might be made, is sharply set aside by וְגַם, *nevertheless, however* (cf. ὅμως), Ps. lxxxiv. 7, cxix. 24, cxxix. 2, Job xviii. 15, Mal. iii. 15, Eccles. vi. 7, Jer. vi. 15, viii. 12, Ezek. xvi. 28, Jer. li. 44, Neh. v. 8, vi. 1; cf. similarly, יַחַד, our *nevertheless,* Hos. xi. 7, and strongest of all, וְאַף גַּם זֹאת *but yet for all this,* Lev. xxvi. 44; later, וּבְכֵן *even considering such a thing* (*i.e.* nevertheless), Eccles. viii. 10, as also וְכֵן, 2 Chron. xxxii. 31. In poetry, also, אָז *then,* may have the force of *even then* (Germ. *dann* for *dennoch,* i.e. *dann noch*), Ps. lvi. 10, lxix. 5, Mal. iii. 16.

For indicating the antithesis which immediately follows a negative (like the Ger. *sondern* after *nicht*), the simple וְ is usually too weak, though it does occur in that sense, Ps. lv. 14, 2 Sam. xxiii. 7, Deut. xi. 10 f., Jer. x. 8. The proper expression for this is rather the asseverative, affirmative כִּי (see § 330*b*), Isa. xlviii. 2, or the stronger כִּי אִם (see § 356*b*); as, לֹא אֲנִי כִּי אַתָּה *not I, but thou.* And further, that the subject, nevertheless, likes to be placed antithetically at the beginning (see § 340*a*), is shown by Zeph. iii. 13. But even when no negative proposition precedes, כִּי may mean *yet, nevertheless* (see § 330*b*), as in Isa. ii. 6, xxviii. 28.

b. Restrictive particles are רַק (properly, *thin,* hence our *merely, only*) and אַךְ (see § 105*d*) *except, only,* which are both very often used, and at first differed more in being peculiar to different dialects: before a single idea [857] also, they signify *nothing else than, only,* Deut. iv. 6, Judg. xiv. 16, 1 Kings xiv. 8, Isa. xix. 11; רַק אִם, Lat. *dummodo, provided that* (see § 270*b*). Also אֶפֶס *except* (see § 322*b*), אֶפֶס כִּי *only that,* i.e. *nevertheless,* Deut. xv. 4; מִבְּלִי אֲשֶׁר *except,* or *only that,* Eccles. iii. 11; אִם לֹא *if only not,* Job xvii. 2 [rather, here, *assuredly*]. Further, עַל (see § 222*b*) is also used as a conjunction, in the sense of *although,* Job xvi. 17. Regarding כִּי אִם, see § 356*b*.

c. אַף כִּי *and that,* as an exclamation, may mean (1) when

[1] بَلْ is merely an abbreviation of this; the corresponding word in Aramaic, taking the cognate root, is בְּרַם, which thus, in sound, resembles גֵּרָם, but only by accident.

placed first, in interrogative discourse, "*and* is it really the case *that . . .?*" or, more briefly, "*actually?*" as if one could not believe it, Gen. iii. 1. (2) When used with reference to a previous proposition (in which case וְ *and*, may be superadded), it appends, with increasing certainty, the chief point yet to be stated, and signifies *how much less*, when a *negative* proposition precedes, 1 Kings viii. 27, Job ix. 14, Prov. xvii. 7, xix. 10, 1 Sam. xxi. 6, and *how much more*, when an *affirmative* sentence goes before, Prov. xv. 11, xxi. 27, 1 Sam. xiv. 30, 2 Sam. iv. 11, xvi. 11: only, כִּי cannot be repeated [after this expression], so that אַף כִּי must also signify *how much more when . . .*, Prov. xxi. 27. If it stands at the beginning of the passage, it may be rendered *and really also*, Hab. ii. 5. However, אַף alone may also, if need be, have this sense (see § 352*b*), as Job iv. 19, *how much less*, Num. xvi. 14, *rather:* hence, combined with the semi-interrogative, semi-negational אִם (see § 356*a*), forming the compound אַף אִם, it means, with a following imperfect, *and if he would . . .*, i.e. *but how should he . . .*, Job xxxvi. 29.

The strongest restrictive is וְאַף כִּי, more briefly וְכִי or simply כִּי, in a pointed exclamation, when, after a negative proposition, it scornfully rejects something that is impossible, taking the preceding statement into account; *e.g. where are the gods of yore?* (*i.e.* they are no more) *and that they should deliver thee!* (*i.e.* how much less will they deliver thee), Isa. xxxvi. 19 f., xliii. 22, Hos. i. 6, cf. with 2 Chron. xxxii. 14 f., 1 Sam. xxiii. 3. On the other hand, גַּם כִּי is *yea also*, Ruth ii. 21.

III. CORRELATIVE WORDS AND PROPOSITIONS.

1. *Conditional Propositions.*[1]

355*a*. Among double sentences, in which the first proposition necessarily refers to that which follows, a most prominent position is occupied by all kinds of *conditional propositions*, since the condition renders necessary the introduction of another proposition, although it [viz. the condition]

[1] [On this subject, see also Driver on the Hebrew Tenses, chap. x. (*On Hypotheticals*).]

may also, in many cases, be merely appended to, or inserted in the other member. But it is most natural that the condition should regard things which are still future: and, since the imagination occupies itself with picturing what would happen *if* the condition *has been fulfilled;* since, therefore, it has already got beyond the supposition made, and is merely looking forward to what still lies before, the most natural and appropriate form of the verb, in the conditional proposition, is [858] the *perfect,* viz. the perfect of fancy or imagination (see § 135*c*), Lat. *futurum exactum,* as *si fecero,* for which modern languages, more simply, employ the present, *if I make* (do). Hence, the perfect is generally the most convenient tense-form in conditional propositions. This is a higher or non-sensuous employment of the tense generally used with reference to sensuous objects, similar to the perfect with the Vav of sequence (see § 342*b*). It is a perfect used with a particular force, and especially with a higher meaning, and may be briefly designated *the perfect of condition.*[1] A real perfect, indeed, may also be employed to indicate a condition, *si feci;* but the Hebrew, far more than the Arabic and Syriac, still leaves these two possibilities to be discriminated merely by feeling. The result of this has been that the *perfect of condition* is no longer so constantly employed in Hebrew as in Arabic: as the modified perfect, with the Vav of sequence, gradually disappears (see § 342 f.), so also, at a still earlier stage, does this perfect of condition; and then the *imperfect* comes to be used instead of our *present.*

If, however, that which is really future is *regarded* as complete, then, simply because of the mutual relation subsisting between the two members of the sentence, the apodosis also may, in anticipation, look upon the consequence as, under the circumstances, certain to be realized; *i.e.* the perfect of fancy or imagination may be continued in the apodosis also, though this tense does not so readily and necessarily appear as in the first clause; this construction, however, promotes the strong mutual correspondence between the two propositions,

[1] How closely these two are related, is evident also from the example in Deut. xxxii. 41, quoted under § 197*a*. In Semitic, accordingly, through the fusion of the conditional particle with the verb, there arises a true *concatenation of words,* as is most conclusively shown by the Arabic.

and is, accordingly, the rule in Arabic. Finally, what is contained in the conditional proposition may either, in accordance with the mind of the speaker, be assumed absolutely, without determining whether it is true and possible or not; or the speaker may state it, notwithstanding his feeling that it does not at present exist: this difference we are obliged to express by means of the indicative or subjunctive,—*if there is, if there were;* in Hebrew, however, especially because distinction of moods, in this sense, has not been stedfastly carried out, the difference is indicated in a still more objective and distinct manner, by means of various particles.

b. 1. אִם is the simple *if* (אִם לֹא *if not, unless*); it is also used when one side is taken *notwithstanding* the other, in which case it answers to our *although,* Isa. i. 18–20, Jer. v. 2, xiv. 7, xv. 1, xxii. 24, li. 14, Eccles. xi. 8, 1 Sam. xv. 17. A word of like meaning is הֵן (see § 103*g*), Ex. iv. 1, viii. 22, Job xxxvi. 22, 2 Chron. vii. 13.[1] Considered with respect to time, it is construed—

(1.) With the *imperfect,* or rather, equally with this and the *perfect,* whether simple futurity be intended, as, אִם עָשִׂיתִי *si fecero,* [859] *if I do* (if I shall have done), Ps. vii. 4 f., cxxxii. 12, Job xi. 13, Gen. xliii. 9, Isa. iv. 4, Jer. xxxvii. 10; or whether prominence be given to one among many possible cases, as, Ps. lxiii. 7, Job vii. 4, Jer. xiv. 18, Ex. i. 16. Here also belongs the use of אִם in describing continued states and repeated actions, Gen. xxxviii. 9, Num. xxi. 9 (cf. § 342*b*); hence our *when,* in the case of continued states, Amos vi. 2; or our *as often as, whenever* (for which כִּי is more rarely used, Judg. ii. 18, Job vii. 13 f., see § 337*c;* or אֲשֶׁר, Deut. xi. 27, cf. ver. 28, see § 333*a*). In every case, the perfect is used thus, only in the first proposition, and afterwards the plain, feeble tense (see § 350*a*), *i.e.* here, the imperfect, or, what is the same thing, Vav consecutive with the perfect: in poetry, however, there is greater freedom of form, Job xvii. 13 ff. In the apodosis appears the *imperfect,* as a plain tense-form, *e.g.* always when the verb does not stand first, Isa. i. 9, 20, Prov.

[1] Both of these forms have, as it were, become merged in the Aramaic and Arabic אִן; but, that הֵן originally signifies *behold,* is also evident from the Coptic ⲒⲤϪⲈ, prop. *see that* . . ., i.e. *provided that* . . .

iii. 24, Amos ix. 2; at other times, Vav consecutive with the perfect may be used, Mic. v. 7, Ps. lxxxix. 32 f., sometimes also the perfect without Vav, in which case the connection is indicated merely by the meaning, Prov. ix. 12, 1 Sam. ii. 16, Hos. xii. 12a; further, by Vav consecutive with the imperfect: the case is different when the perfect, in the apodosis, refers to an event actually past, Ps. cxxvii. 1. Moreover, אִם may also be used with the *participle*, for the immediate future, Judg. ix. 15, xi. 9 (similarly with כִּי *when*, Judg. xv. 3), 1 Sam. vi. 3; hence, יֵשׁ (see § 306*c*) with a suffix readily occurs in this case, Gen. xxiv. 49 (*si facturi estis*, cf. ver. 42, where the precatory particle ־נָא, § 246*a*, intrudes itself), xliii. 4, Judg. vi. 36; also אֵין, Ex. viii. 17, 1 Sam. xix. 11 (where the participle is used in the apodosis also). The conditional particle may likewise be used with the *infinitive* and a suffix; as, אִם אָמְרִי *if my saying, i.e.* if I say, Job ix. 27, cf. Zeph. iii. 20.[1]

(2.) With the *perfect*, as the sign that an event is actually past, 1 Sam. xxi. 5, Job viii. 4, ix. 16, Isa. xxviii. 25; also, when the apodosis goes into the future, Nah. i. 12.

(3.) When, however, there is made an assumption, which, in the opinion of the speaker, is not altogether impossible, the *imperfect* is used; thus, *if a man were to* (*should*) *give*, Cant. viii. 7, Amos ix. 2–4, Obad. 4, Isa. x. 22, Ps. l. 12, cxxxix. 8, Job xxxiv. 14 f. The imperfect must likewise be employed when *desire* is meant to be expressed, as, *if ye wish to ask*, Isa. xxi. 12 (also with the ־ָה of the voluntative, Job xvi. 6), or for the actual future, 2 Kings xx. 9, Judg. xiii. 16: with this we must not confound the case in which the imperfect stands for our *present*,—instead of which the *perfect* is sometimes employed, Num. xxxv. 20 f., cf. ver. 22, Nah. iii. 12. It is obvious that the apodosis may have the voluntative or imperative, when the sense requires it, 2 Kings ii. 10, Jer. xxiii. 22, 1 Sam. vi. 3.

The negative is אִם לֹא *if not*, for which, it is to be observed, there is employed the simple אַל *μή* (*εἰ μή*) in 2 Kings vi. 27, a mode of construction which is probably due to the influence of some dialect.

[1] In Dan. xi. 1, however, עָמְדִי is a wrong reading.

כִּי *when*, differs from אִם in not generally having this power of subordinating the perfect of condition; it is but seldom that this particle occurs with the same force, as [860] Ruth i. 12 f., Job vii. 13, cf. ver. 4; and with the voluntative, Job xxvii. 8 (see § 235*c*). Equally rare is it to find כַּאֲשֶׁר in the sense of *quasi;* but then it is used, like a conditional particle, with the *perfect*, Ps. lvi. 7. And עַד כִּי, Cant. iii. 4c, with the perfect, is, in the sense of the Lat. *donec fecero*, and our *until I do*, the exact equivalent of the much more common עַד אִם, which likewise takes the perfect, Isa. vi. 11, xxx. 17, Gen. xxiv. 19: instead of which there is used, in the more solemn style, עַד עֵת *until the time when* . . ., Mic. v. 2, but more briefly also the simple עַד (see p. 230).

c. When two conditional sentences occur consecutively, the apodosis of the first may be omitted, as being evident from the whole: thus, *if* . . . (well and good), *otherwise* . . ., Judg. ix. 16–20, Ex. xxxii. 32. In every apodosis, too, a member of the protasis may be repeated merely in thought, as being self-evident, Job xxvii. 14, Ps. xcii. 8. If, in the second sentence, the negative hypothesis is to be stated very briefly, without repeating the first proposition, then it is better to say וְאִם אַיִן *and if not* (see § 321*b*), or וְאִם לֹא, 1 Sam. vi. 9.

356*a*. In the numerous forms of asseveration and swearing, the second proposition, in which the speaker lays himself under obligation, is almost always omitted, as being self-evident; so that אִם, simply, has assumed the meaning of *certainly not*, and אִם לֹא that of *certainly*. אִם is then, for the most part, loosely joined with the *imperfect;* as, אִם אֶעֱזְבֵךְ *if I forsake thee!* (may I perish), *i.e.* I shall certainly not leave thee; we find, however, אִם לֹא שֵׁרוֹתִיךָ *if I shall not strengthen thee! i.e.* I shall certainly do so, Jer. xv. 11, Ps. lxxxix. 36, xcv. 11. Hence הַאִם occurs, though rarely, with the same meaning as הֲלֹא (see § 324*b*), Job vi. 13, Num. xvii. 28.

b. כִּי אִם, after a negative proposition, may signify *but if* (see § 354*a*); and, in this as in other cases, אִם is followed by the perfect, used with reference to the present or future, as, לֹא יָשׁוּב כִּי אִם הִרְוָה *it does not return but if* (unless) *it has watered*, Isa. lv. 10, lxv. 6, Amos iii. 7, Gen. xxxii. 27, Lev. xxii. 6. Hence, this construction generally has acquired the sense of the strong restrictive *except*, *only*, 2 Sam. xiii. 33

Kethib (*nevertheless,* Num. xxiv. 22), *but,* even when it is not succeeded by a verb. Though it is most frequently put after a negation (see p. 268), as, לֹא יַעֲקֹב כִּי אִם יִשְׂרָאֵל *not Jacob but Israel,* Gen. xxxii. 29, Prov. xxiii. 17,[1] or after a question, *who . . . but* (except), Isa. xlii. 19, yet it is also found, at times, without such protases, so that, if a verb immediately follows, it remains in the perfect, as, כִּי אִם זְכַרְתָּנִי (except) *only, thou shalt remember me,* Gen. xl. 14, Job xlii. 8, Num. xxiv. 22, 2 Sam. v. 6, 2 Kings xxiii. 9. In the same way also is used the stronger בִּלְתִּי אִם *save only,* Judg. vii. 14, and the simple בִּלְתִּי *only,* with the perfect, Isa. x. 4 (see § 322*a*); hence also, in strong asseverations and oaths, it signifies *only,* in the sense of *assuredly,* 2 Sam. xv. 21 (*Kethib,* as in Jer. xxxix. 12), 1 Kings xx. 6, 2 Kings v. 20, Jer. li. 14. Nay more, כִּי אִם *except,* comes at last to be merely a [861] stronger *or* than the simple אִם; it states another case, and yet still continues to be construed with the perfect, Lam. v. 22 (cf. § 312*c*).[2] It is different when כִּי אִם is used to indicate a continuation, *yea if,* Prov. ii. 3, or in the sense of *although,* Jer. li. 14; a different case, too, is found in Prov. xix. 19.[3]

357*a*. When several propositions are closely connected, it is even sufficient to introduce a new case, as a condition, by means of Vav consecutive,—mostly with the *perfect,*—in such a way that the absence of the conjunction, for the most part, indicates where the apodosis begins; as, *ánd thou awakest* (if thou dost awake), *she will guide thee,* Prov. vi. 22, 31, Gen. xxxiii. 13, Num. xxiii. 20, 1 Sam. xxv. 29 (where, in the protasis, the imperfect, with the Vav of sequence, is employed for the purpose of referring to the case that has already happened) 31, Isa. vi. 13 (where עוֹד is an imperfect verb; see § 299*a*), Jer. xviii. 4, 8, xx. 9, Job v. 24b, x. 15, xi. 18, xxxiii. 19–25, Ps. cxxxix. 11 f.; and, by dropping the וְ according to § 233*a*), with the apocopated *imperfect,* Job

[1] [But a second occurrence of כִּי אִם in this passage creates some difficulty: see the commentaries, and Rüetschi's remarks in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1868, pp. 157, 158.]

[2] Hence, the Greek ἀλλ' ἤ is a combination which closely corresponds to this.

[3] On this passage, cf. Ewald on the *Poetic Writers of the Old Testament,* ii. p. 186.

xxxiii. 21 f. The meaning of the apodosis may also be contained merely in the Vav of sequence, Gen. iv. 14 (where, in the protasis, the imperfect is used: *if I must hide . . . and become a fugitive and vagabond, then . . .*); this is particularly the case when, on account of a preceding פֶּן *lest, that not,* an ordinary protasis cannot well be formed, Ps. xxviii. 1.

b. The conditional meaning, however, may also be expressed in very many other ways, without using אִם, partly in a more pointed manner, but partly also in a much briefer way; as, when הִנֵּה עַתָּה *behold now . . .*, i.e. *supposing that he is . . .* stands before a circumstantial clause, 2 Sam. xvii. 9, or when the simple הִנֵּה *behold,* with a participle following, points to an immediate future, 2 Kings vii. 2, 19, and with the perfect of the future, Hos. ix. 6; the latter construction is especially employed, when, in the continued progress of the discourse, there is to be formed a new proposition which shall serve as the protasis of a conditional sentence, Ezek. xiv. 22, xv. 4, xvi. 27.

In this matter, there is much more liberty accorded to poetic writers than is given in ordinary discourse. Thus, a proposition with the *perfect* may be prefixed, or even boldly inserted, in such a way that this action must obviously precede the following action in the *imperfect,* as its condition; so רָאָה . . . וְיִסָּתֵר *he has seen it, and hides himself, i.e.* having seen it, he hides himself, Prov. xxii. 3, Ps. lxix. 33, ciii. 16, Amos iii. 8, Hos. ix. 6, Hab. iii. 10, Job vii. 20, xxiv. 24, iii. 11, 13, iv. 21, xxiii. 10; also, with the omission of Vav consecutive before the perfect of the apodosis, in Prov. xxiv. 10, Ps. lvii. 7 (with an interrogation for the protasis in Prov. xxii. 29). Thus, too, the *perfect* may always be suddenly introduced in new conditional propositions; but when this is the case, it is almost always continued, Ezek. xviii. 5–9, 10 f., xxxiii. 3–9.[1] The opposite of this [862] is, *I call* (imperf.), *Thou hast delivered me, i.e.* as soon as I cry, Thou deliverest, Ps. xxx. 3–12, xxxii. 5, and with the Vav of sequence, iii. 5. Or, the protasis announces, in the voluntative, the wish, the hypothesis, and the possibility on the ground of which an apodosis must follow; and this may be at once added in the

[1] This same construction becomes very frequent in the brief legal style of the Mishna.

same expression with the other member, as, אָקוּמָה וַיְדַבְּרוּ *if I wish to rise, then they speak;* תָּשֶׁת . . . וִיהִי *if Thou makest* darkness, *then it becomes* night; this is especially the case when the apodosis intimates willingness or intention, as, *do Thou quicken us* תְּחַיֵּינוּ,[1] *then* (so) *will we call on Thy name,* Job xix. 18, x. 16 f., xi. 17, xvi. 6, xxii. 28, xxxvi. 14 f., Ps. xl. 6, xlii. 5, lxxi. 21f., lxxvii. 4, lxxx. 19, xci. 15, civ. 20, cxxxix. 8–10, 18, cxlvi. 4, Isa. xxxiii. 11, Zech. x. 8 f. The cases in which two imperatives are used (see § 347*b*) likewise belong to this class of sentences.[2] The mere infinitive with לְ, in a kind of protasis, may also give a rough outline of what is nothing more than a possibility, as, לַעֲלוֹת *to be weighed in the balance* (*i.e.* if they are accurately weighed), *they are* . . ., Ps. lxii. 10b. It is similar when the first member is put as it were interrogatively, Isa. xxvi. 10, xlviii. 13, Eccles. i. 10, Neh. i. 8.

But again, two essentially different actions may also be simply opposed to each other (which, however, is best accomplished by the significant omission of the *and*), so that the protasis may possibly receive prominence merely through the change of tone (as in English): thus Hos. viii. 12, Ps. xci. 7, cxix. 23, 51, 61, not to mention such a case as Ps. lxviii. 2, where the voluntative ceases to be clearly distinguished; but the apodosis may be more precisely indicated by a prefixed גַּם (like our *then*, Ger. *so*), Hos. xii. 12b. In the briefest form of construction, two perfects are brought together (see § 355*a*), as, נָפַלְתִּי קַמְתִּי *I fall, I rise, i.e.* if I fall, I rise again, Mic. vii. 8, Hos. x. 13, cf. with xii. 11; this brevity of expression is particularly appropriate when use is made of כַּאֲשֶׁר, indicating equality, Jonah i. 14. And finally, we may even say מָצָא . . . מָצָא *he found . . . he found, i.e.* if he found the one, he found the other also, Prov. xviii. 22.[3]

c. To this category also properly belong all those relative propositions which are of such a nature that they must have other propositions to correspond with them; as, *he who . . . that person is* (Ger. *wer . . . der*), *who am I that I . . .* (see

[1] Hence, this is particularly the case also where it becomes necessary to employ the voluntative of the *second* person (see § 229*a*).

[2] Even in modern Persian they occur in the same way; Shâhnâme I. p. 226, 15.

[3] Cf. Mishna, *Aboth* ii. 7, cf. 10.

§ 347*a*). In these cases, accordingly, מִי and מָה have the force of [relative] pronouns (see § 331*b*), as Num. xxiii. 3, 1 Sam. xx. 4, Job vi. 24b, Ps. xxv. 12 f., Zech. iv. 10, Esth. v. 3, 6, vii. 2, ix. 12, Eccles. v. 9, ix. 4; other turns are found in iii. 13, v. 18; nay, every circumstantial clause, or the simple participle, admits of being resolved into such a proposition, and has the force of one, Prov. xiii. 18, xiv. 22, xxii. 15, xxvii. 7, Job xli. 18, Jer. xxiii. 17, 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. כֹּל אֲשֶׁר *whoever*, אֶל־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר *whithersoever*, etc., are construed exactly in the same way as אִם with the perfect; thus 1 Sam. i. 28, Judg. ii. 15, [863] Prov. xvii. 8, cf. Dan. i. 20; in Ecclesiastes there is used . . . מַה־שֶּׁ *whatever* . . ., vi. 10, vii. 24. In the apodosis, the perfect is used, at least according to the Massoretic punctuation, Prov. xiv. 31, xvii. 5, xix. 17.

358*a*. 2. לוּ[1] sets forth the condition, notwithstanding the feeling that the statement contained in it is now impossible; this difference comes out distinctly in the case of things past and present. (1) Though the *perfect* may be used of the *present* (just as in the case of אִם), as, לוּ חָכְמוּ יָבִינוּ *if they were wise* (which they are not) *they would perceive this*, Deut. xxxii. 29, yet a mere circumstantial clause occurs still more frequently, as, לוּ עַמִּי שֹׁמֵעַ *if my people heard* (which they do not), Ps. lxxxi. 14, 2 Sam. xviii. 12, 2 Kings iii. 14; it is found in the same way also with יֵשׁ, Job xvi. 4, Num. xxii. 29. לוּ is also used with the *imperfect*, in speaking of things which are not desired, and are not now actually existent, though perhaps possible; as, לוּ יִשְׂטְמֵנוּ *if he hated us* (we would be lost, Gen. l. 15, which is a case of aposiopesis similar to that which occurs in Ps. xxvii. 13); the imperfect, however, makes its way

[1] The more primitive form is *lavi* (see § 319*b*). But, as we saw that אוּלַי (see § 325*b*) is an abbreviation of לוּלֵי, so, in 2 Kings v. 13, there is found —doubtless, through the influence of a dialect—אָבִי (according to the Massoretic punctuation) for לָבִי, *i.e.* לָוִי (*if the prophet had commanded thee* [to do] *something great, thou wouldest do it; how much more this small matter!*); hence it serves for the expression of a wish, Job xxxiv. 36, like לוּ (see § 329*b*), and may therefore also be rightly placed before the imperative, as in 1 Sam. xxiv. 12 (for, even here, אָבִי cannot mean, *my father!*). Moreover, the form לֹא (which, in many passages, is unquestionably equivalent to לוּ) shows that in Hebrew also, at least in some of its dialects, one might always readily say *lô = law*.

into other cases also, Deut. xxxii. 26 f. (2) לוּ may also be used in connection with things of the *past*, as, לוּ הָיָה *if it had happened,*—which it has *not;* cf. § 135*d*.

The apodosis need not necessarily be considered as in the same actual division of time [with the protasis]: thus, *if ye had spared them, I would not kill you* (pret. pres.); *if I had a sword, I would have already slain thee* (pres. pret.). If, now, the *present* is intended in the apodosis, then the *perfect* of the first proposition may, certainly, be continued (as in § 355*b*), Isa. i. 9, Judg. viii. 19; but—especially when it is the *present* which is spoken of in the protasis also—it is a simpler construction for the *imperfect* to be used, or, instead of this, the stronger construction with the perfect and the Vav of sequence (see § 342*b*), Mic. ii. 11, and with כִּמְעַט *in a little, soon,* Ps. lxxxi. 15. If the preterite is to be understood, the *perfect* must be used, Judg. xiii. 23; and, in this case, כִּי אָז or כִּי עַתָּה *surely then,* is often employed to indicate more strongly what would otherwise have happened, Num. xxii. 29, Gen. xliii. 9, 1 Sam. xiv. 30, 2 Sam. ii. 27; אֱזַי *then,* is found only in Aramaizing language, as Ps. cxxiv. 3 f. (It is very seldom, on the other hand, that these particles are found after אִם, which indicates much less passion, Job viii. 6, xi. 15.) In other cases also, when such a protasis is wanting, and is only covertly implied in the meaning, [864] this אָז or עַתָּה *then,* which points to what is more remote, is sufficient to indicate that what is expressed in the *perfect* or *imperfect* after "then," either *would have happened,* or *would happen,* if the condition were fulfilled, Ex. ix. 15, 1 Sam. xiii. 13, 2 Kings xiii. 19, Job iii. 13, xiii. 19. It is still more obvious that, after something future has been already indicated, the *perfect,* with כִּי אָז *surely then,* sufficiently expresses our *futurum exactum,* 2 Sam. v. 24 (in the parallel passage, 1 Chron. xiv. 15, אָז is improperly omitted).

The conditional proposition, however, may also be merely added during the progress of the discourse, without exercising the influence already mentioned, Job xvi. 6, Ps. cvi. 23.

b. לוּלֵא or לוּלֵי *if there were not* (which, however, is actually the case), is contracted from לוּ לֹא (see § 108*c*). In Aramaic, the lighter conditional particle אִם also thrusts itself in before לוּ; the particle אִלּוּ [*if,*—which is *not* the case], contracted from

the combination of these two, is found in Ec les. [vi. 6] and Esth. [vii. 4]: in the same sense must be understood אִם לֹא in Ezek. iii. 6; לֹא is also to be understood as equivalent to לוּ (see § 329) in 1 Sam. xx. 14, 2 Sam. xiii. 26, 2 Kings v. 17,[1] Job xiv. 4.

2. *Equated Propositions.*

359. Equated propositions, or, taking a more restricted view, *equating words,* are, generally speaking, more commonly found among poetic writers than in plain narrative.

1. Such propositions are formed for the purpose of representing things which differ, as, *nevertheless, agreeing and combining* in one respect: thus, גַּם . . . גַּם *also . . . also, i.e.* . . . as well as . . ., both . . . and . . ., not only . . . but also, Ex. x. 25 f. xii. 31, Gen. xxiv. 25, 1 Sam. xvii. 36, Jer. li. 12, 49; אַף . . . אַף is rare, and used only in poetry, Isa. xl. 24, xli. 26, xlvi. 11; also וְ . . . וְ, Isa. xvi. 5, xxxviii. 15, Ps. lxxvi. 7, Job xxxiv. 29; and in prose, Num. xvi. 17, Jer. xxxii. 14, xl. 8, 1 Kings xvi. 11. Propositions of considerable length are rarely connected in this way. In negative propositions, the particles mean *neither . . . nor* . . ., 1 Kings iii. 26. The case is different when גַּם is repeated merely for the sake of emphasis, Job xv. 10, Judg. v. 4. In another way, בֵּין . . . לְ (see § 217*g*), as in Arabic, is equivalent to . . . *as well as* . . ., the two extremes being connected, 2 Chron. xiv. 10.

360*a*. 2. For connecting different things, as being, in a certain manner, *exactly similar*, the particle כְּ, used in comparisons, is simply repeated, in order to express our *as . . . so;* כַּצַּדִּיק כָּרָשָׁע *as the righteous, so the wicked,* [865] Gen. xviii. 25,

[1] In these two passages, the Massoretes doubtless meant to indicate, by the vocalization וְלָא (see § 343*a*) and the accents, that the word has the peculiar meaning *and O!* as, in both, the ־נָא (see § 246*a*) follows the voluntative. But the sense requires, in 2 Sam., *O if he would but go!* (*i.e.* O that he might go); and in 2 Kings, *even though a pair of mules with precious stones* (*i.e.* as many precious stones as a couple of mules can carry; see § 287*i*) *were given me*, is to be regarded as a mere protasis, so that ־נָא simply serves to give prominence to the voluntative. Instead of אֲדָמָה we must read אַדְמָה.

xliv. 18, Judg. viii. 18, 2 Chron. xviii. 3. To indicate equality between two adjectives, there is used the somewhat longer כְּמוֹ (see § 222*a*), which, even under these circumstances, stands more before a complete proposition; *as the fresh, as the parched,*—one or the other indifferently, Ps. lviii. 10.[1] If the second member possesses more of the force and weight belonging to the discourse; or if it is very much separated from the first member, and requires to have its connection indicated somewhat more decidedly; or if, finally, it is a complete proposition, then the full form כֵּן *so* (see § 105*b*), is introduced, as, Ps. cxxvii. 4, Joel ii. 4, 2 Kings vii. 18–20; in Ps. cxxxi. 2, however, כַּגָּמוּל, at the beginning of a short proposition, sufficiently expresses the sense of כֵּן הַגָּמוּל *so is the weaned* [child].[2] If the first member also is a complete proposition, then we must say כַּאֲשֶׁר instead of כְּ (see § 337). In shorter, or more closely connected propositions, the first particle may also be omitted; so also, on the other hand, the second כְּ is likewise more pointedly attached by means of the Vav of sequence, Josh. xiv. 11, Dan. xi. 29, 1 Sam. xxx. 24. כָּל־עֻמַּת שֶׁ means *exactly in the same way as,* Eccles. v. 15, cf. 1 Chron. xxv. 8.

But the comparison is not always expressed in both members in an equally complete manner. Even the mere אֲשֶׁר is employed for *as,* in Jer. xxxiii. 22, xlviii. 8, Isa. liv. 9, a use of the word which is not surprising (see § 333*a*); the same application is made, in Isa. lxii. 5, of כִּי, which, of course, originally signifies *as,* but is not usually employed for כַּאֲשֶׁר. In the brief, poetic style, it is also sufficient to attach merely the second proposition by means of כֵּן, Judg. v. 15; more readily, כְּ is placed only with the first half, Neh. v. 5, or the Vav of sequence is enough for the second, Isa. viii. 23.

b. If the comparison relates to *time,* כֵּן is our *immediately,* Ps. xlviii. 6, 1 Sam. ix. 13[3] (cf. weaker modes of expression in § 337*c*). If it refers to *degree,* it is our *the more . . . the*

[1] Cf. ܟܡܐ ܪܚܝܩܐ *however remote,* Knös' *Chrestomathy,* p. 74.

[2] We must not omit noticing here, that כְּ is a particle which, properly, in every case, subordinates the word or words used as its completion, after the manner of the incomplete nouns (see § 286*d* ff.); so that כַּיּוֹם, or, more precisely, כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה, may signify *as it is to-day,* Jer. xliv. 6, 22 f. (instead of which הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה is used in ver. 2).

[3] Cf. οὕτω in 1 Macc. xii. 26.

more, Ex. i. 12, Hos. iv. 7, x. 1, xi. 2, cf. Nah. i. 12;[1] but this idea is more strongly expressed by means of the combination כְּעַל . . . כְּעַל *according to . . . so,* of which only the second may afterwards be used,[2] Isa. lix. 18, lxiii. 7.

When the same thought is repeated under the same form of expression,—either from doubt, as in כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁכֹלְתִּי שָׁכָלְתִּי *as* (or, *when*) *I am bereaved* [866] *I am bereaved,* Gen. xliii. 13, Esth. iv. 16; or merely because the speaker does not choose to say anything more about the matter, as in Zech. x. 8,—the *perfect* is used (according to §§ 355, 357*c*).[3] A proposition with *where,* however, may also be stated by itself, 2 Sam. xv. 20, though 1 Sam. xxiii. 13 shows that the leading tense is apt to be repeated in it.

c. When correlation can be sufficiently and most simply expressed by repeating a noun or pronoun, and placing one form in opposition to the other, the language generally contents itself with this method. So, זֶה . . . וְזֶה *this . . . that,* when different individuals are introduced, as they present themselves to the mind of the speaker, Jer. xliv. 5; מִזֶּה וּמִזֶּה *from* (or, *on*) *this and that side;* הֵנָּה וְהֵנָּה *here and there* (see § 103*f*), or, *this and that,* 1 Kings xx. 40 (see § 184); אֶחָד לְאֶחָד *one to another,* 1 Kings iii. 25, 2 Kings iv. 35; similarly אִישׁ לְאִישׁ, גּוֹי לְגוֹי, Mic. iv. 3; cf. other instances in 1 Kings vi. 27, 2 Kings xxi. 16, Ezek. xiii. 18, Ezra ix. 11, Esth. i. 7: the idea may even be conveyed simply by repeating the article, Jer. li. 46; hence also יֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר . . . וְיֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר *some . . . others,* Neh. v. 2–4; or a slight change of the word, such as is found in קְצֵה . . . קְצוֹת *the one end of . . . the other end of it,* Ps. xix. 7, because the plural form also is very natural and convenient in this passage.

This simplicity of construction is radically the same as that according to which the comparative and superlative merely follow from the connection of the whole; *e.g.* אַחֲרֹנִים *last,* twice

[1] The Syriac also frequently expressed this by ܐܝܟܢ . . . ܗܟܢ.

[2] Similarly, of two such words, the first [as well as the second] remains in the case of לְמַעַן . . . לְמַעַן *therefore . . . in order that I . . .,* Neh. vi. 13; and the still shorter mode of expression is presented in the case of בַּעֲבוּר, Job xx. 2, 3. The possibility of forming such constructions results from what is stated in § 220*a*.

[3] The same mode of expression is frequently used in Arabic.

repeated, is to be rendered by *latter* and *last*, Gen. xxxiii. 2, Eccles. i. 11; as the Hebrew also, in the case of general ideas like *great*, often leaves modifications of these, like our *too great*, or *too little*, to be inferred merely from the drift of the discourse, Zech. xii. 7, 2 Chron. xxix. 34, 2 Kings iii. 18.

361. 3. Mutual connection between different cases which are represented as *possible*, is formed by repeating the conditional particle: thus, אִם . . . וְאִם *if* one likes this, *and if* one likes that, *i.e. sive . . . sive;* as, אִם טוֹב וְאִם רָע *sive bonum, sive malum.* In shorter propositions, however, and in interrogative sentences (see § 324*c*), the second member is also introduced, more briefly, by אִם merely, or וְ, Job xvi. 6; so also, on the other hand, וְאִם may be found merely with the second, Prov. xxvii. 24, or even אִם, 1 Kings xxi. 2, cf. ver. 6. Though disjunctive questions may be formed by simply repeating the הֲ, Num. xiii. 18, yet the second question is oftener indicated more definitely by this וְאִם or אִם. On the other hand, אוֹ (see § 352*a*), the essential meaning of which is *or*, forms the transition to something new which rises after other things, and thrusts itself into greater prominence: hence, also, it is used with the *voluntative;* thus, *or* (rather) *let him make peace* (if he does not like the previous alternative), Isa. xxvii. 5, Lev. xxvi. 41. Then also, put antithetically, אוֹ . . . אוֹ means *either* in this way, *or* in that; hence, it is stronger than the mere אִם: and while the double אִם is used more before single nouns, this particle stands more before whole propositions. In this latter case, however, since it includes the meaning of the conditioning אִם, it resembles this particle [867] in being joined with the *perfect* (see § 355*b*); thus, אוֹ רָאָה אוֹ יָדָע *sive viderit, sive cognorit,* Lev. v. 1, 21 f.; and with the second member only, in Lev. xv. 3, Num. v. 14: the same idea is also more briefly indicated by וְ . . . וְ (see § 352*b*), Prov. xxix. 9;[1] cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* ii. pp. 119, 322. Many different kinds of possible cases are also set forth by means of יֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר, repeated, with reference to the past: *if it were the case that . . . and if it were the case that, i.e.* if it were ever at any time thus . . . or thus: the same thing is afterwards several times more briefly indicated by אוֹ, Num. ix. 20 ff.

[1] See the *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissensch.* xi. p. 28.

3. *Other Kinds of Double Propositions.*

362*a*. Of these, there are many other particular kinds; as, וַיִּקַּח . . . הֲנָקֵל לֶכְתּוֹ *was it too little* (*i.e.* almost, because it was too small a matter) *that he followed* after evil, *he* actually *took* a wife of such a character, 1 Kings xvi. 31, cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 19.[1] אַף[2] הוּא וַיַּךְ וַיֵּחָצוּ *scarcely had he struck* the water, *when it parted*, 2 Kings ii. 14; cf. Cant. iii. 4.

Propositions which destroy each other (in something of the way that is done by μὲν . . . δέ, *though* . . . *yet*, Ger. *zwar* . . . *doch*), like cases of simple antithesis (see § 354*a*), are more rarely distinguished in Hebrew by an outward mark; nor, in the case of the protasis, does the language at all possess any special word such as, among the Semitic tongues, is employed by the Ethiopic for this purpose. By the use of other means, however, such propositions are, of course, capable of being put in a form in which they can be tolerably well distinguished. In extreme cases, even an אִם *if* (*i.e. although*, see § 355*b*) in the protasis is sufficient for this purpose, as 1 Sam. xv. 17, Eccles. vi. 3; or there is merely put first, in an emphatic way, a proposition whose meaning is the direct opposite of the following one with which it is contrasted (see § 357*b*), Mic. iv. 11–13, iv. 14–v. 1, Zeph. iii. 18 f., 1 Chron. xxvi. 10, 2 Chron. xxiv. 24: the latter member becomes still more significant when the protasis also assumes an antithetical form, *e.g.* by employing the voluntative, Isa. xl. 30 f., or by the pronominal subject being expressly mentioned first, as, אֲנִי in Isa. xlix. 4, Jonah ii. 5 (in which case אָכֵן or אַךְ *nevertheless*, is prefixed to the apodosis), Ps. xxxi. 23, xli. 5–13; or when the second member is preceded by *also* (see § 352*b*), Prov. iii. 34 (*though* . . . *yet also* . . .). The first member, however, frequently, by means of כִּי *that!* uttered as it were by way of challenge, or strong request, makes a concession which the apodosis then—often even without an antithetical particle—sharply revokes (Lat. *ut faciat* . . . *tamen, though he should* . . . *yet*); as, 2 Sam. xvi. 10 *Kethib* (twice), Gen. iv. 24, Job xv. 27–29, Ps. xxvii. 10,

[1] Cf. very similar forms of sentences in Neo-Hebraic, *Gemara*, שבת, fol. 30*b*.

[2] Instead of this we must perhaps read אַךְ (see § 341*b*).

xlix. 19 f., xxi. 12, lxxi. 10 ff., cxix. 83, Hos. xiii. 15, Mic. vii. 8, Nah. i. 10 (where, in the apodosis, the perfect is used, in accordance with § 355*b*), Deut. xviii. 14, Jer. iv. 30, xxx. 11, xlvi. 23 f., xlix. 16, l. 11, li. 53, Zech. viii. 6, Mal. i. 4, Eccles. iv. 14 f., 1 Chron. xxviii. 5; hence also, with וְכִי placed unusually further on in the proposition, *I—peace though I speak, they* desire *war*, Ps. cxx. 7.[1] The same thing happens even in the case of a proposition [868] with כִּי, which is placed after the other, Prov. vi. 35. The אֲשֶׁר which indicates a challenge, or earnest request, is [very rarely] used instead of כִּי, in Aramaizing language, Eccles. viii. 12, where, before the apodosis, there stands the stronger כִּי גַּם *nevertheless;* hence, also, with a similar transposition, we find רַב שֶׁיִּהְיוּ *multi ut sint,* though the days of his life be ever so many, Eccles. vi. 3. With this כִּ there is also sometimes joined גַּם (see § 350*a*), to strengthen it, so that the expression corresponds still more to our *although,* Josh. xxii. 7, Hos. viii. 10, Isa. i. 15, Jer. xiv. 12; in the same way also גַּם אֲשֶׁר, Neh. iii. 35, and גַּם אִם, Eccles. viii. 17; nay, even the simple וְגַם has a like meaning, Jer. xxxvi. 25, as also אַךְ, Ezra x. 15 f. And even גַּם alone, repeated before two propositions, may of itself give prominence to the sharp antithesis subsisting between them, Ps. cxix. 23 f.

c. Paraphrastic expressions of similar ideas are בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר *for all that . . ., i.e.* however much, Eccles. viii. 17 (where we must read כֹּל instead of the meaningless שֶׁל); and בִּדְבַר אֲשֶׁר *in spite of the fact that . . ., i.e.* notwithstanding that, Deut. i. 31 f.;[2] also with כִּי to strengthen the expression, כִּי בַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר *despite the fact that . . .,* Ex. xviii. 11.[3]

But, without any such external mark of distinction whatever being used, the same meaning may also be contained merely in the sharp antithesis which exists between two short propositions, as in Ps. cxix. 51, 61.

[1] A similar liberty taken in arranging words is exhibited, during the period of artificial poetic composition, in the case of עַד, Ps. cxli. 10.

[2] For, in this passage, we must undoubtedly read בדבר instead of the meaningless במדבר, and then regard ver. 32 as the apodosis of ver. 31; though, even so early as the time when the Septuagint translation was made, the present reading [ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ] was found.

[3] In the language of the Mishna, there frequently occurs the expression אף על פי ש׳ *although.*

CONCLUSION.

Longer and more Complex Sentences.

363*a*. From all that has been stated above, it is further evident how more than two propositions and trains of thought, of considerable length, may be arranged so as to meet and form one whole; because what has been explained merely presents itself again, interwoven in various ways, as, Neh. iii. 35, Judg. vi. 36 f., Job x. 13–17, xi. 13–15, xxxiii. 15–28, Ezek. viii. 11, Esth. ix. 1, 2. But, though the connection of the propositions (see § 340 ff.) is for the most part maintained by using *and*, at least in narrative, on the other hand, when a grand idea is to be introduced in as precise, and yet as brief and pointed a form as possible, one proposition may also press closely upon another without any conjunction being employed, as in the fine example found in Isa. xxx. 33. The notion that the Hebrew language is incapable of forming large and involved sentences, is a mere groundless prejudice; the first two pieces of narrative in the Bible begin at once with such sentences,[1] and we have already treated of the long relative sentences (see § 335*c*).

[869] *b*. Insertion of one sentence in another, though not very frequently resorted to, is advantageously employed when it serves to round off the whole more speedily, as, Ps. xviii. 4, Gen. iii. 3; and, among the poets, a circumstantial clause may often be abruptly thrown in between two other members of a verse which stand in mutual relation, for the purpose of giving a general explanation of their meaning, Gen. xlix. 8, Ps. xl. 7, xlv. 6, Job xxxvii. 12: the same construction is more freely and fully adopted in rhetorical passages, as, 2 Kings xxii. 18–20 (2 Chron. xxxiv. 26–28), 2 Chron. ii. 2–6: it is rarely followed in the narrative style, as, 1 Sam. xxvii. 11 (from the first לֵאמֹר to מִשְׁפָּטוֹ). It is something different with those insertions in the narrative which merely append, in a brief manner, what might have been stated at a previous stage, 1 Sam. xxv. 2–4.

c. Changes in the mode of construction first adopted (see

[1] Gen. i. 1–3, ii. 5–7; cf. the *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wiss.* i. p. 84, ii. p. 151.

§ 308) may occur during the course of a somewhat long and composite sentence, or in joining one proposition to another, when the one expression is almost as suitable as the other, or when the discourse becomes more condensed, as, 1 Kings vi. 12, Num. xv. 29, Deut. xi. 2 ff., Zech. vii. 7 ff., Dan. i. 15: these changes, however, require to be carefully examined as they stand in every separate passage, and to be viewed in accordance with the peculiar style of each individual author. Many, too, merely appear to be changes, but are not such in reality.[1]

APPENDIX.

AGREEMENT OF THE ACCENTUATION WITH THE SYNTAX.[2]
(SEE § 97*f*.)

364*a*. In order to see how well the accentuation accords with the nature and spirit of a proposition, as described in the syntax, we must especially bear in mind that it embraces the *meaning* quite as much as the *rhythm* of the words in the proposition or verse, and yet in such a way that the latter can never be opposed to the former. There must be a necessary order and arrangement, a connection or separation of the words which form a proposition, arising out of the internal meaning of the thoughts and modes of expression,—quite apart from the rhythm, or any peculiarly appropriate or beautiful turn that may be formed in the attempt to express the whole.

[1] Thus, it would be necessary to complete Job xxxix. 27*b* from *a*: "*and* dost thou command him *that*," etc. But, instead of וְכִי, we should rather read וְאַי *and the vulture*, following the Septuagint and xxviii. 7: אַי and אַיָּה are then related to each other (see § 176*a*).

[2] [Unfortunately, the printed text of the Hebrew Bible has never been accented on uniform principles. But a laudable attempt in the right direction has been made, within the past few years, by Baer; see his editions of Genesis, Isaiah, Job, Psalms, and the Minor Prophets. For a clear and succinct account, in English, of these signs, see Dr. A. B. Davidson's *Outlines of Hebrew Accentuation* (London 1861), especially pp. 35–52, which bear on the subject of this section.]

From the deep foundation of an ultimate law, the internal meaning presents all the separate materials, which the rhythm, embracing the whole externally, puts into shape and form, not for the purpose of rendering these materials indistinct and confused, but to make them produce one beautiful and harmonious unity; for the rhythm is the meaning for the whole, or the breath which combines and animates all the individual parts. Hence, we must treat of—

[870] *b.* I. *The arrangement of the words, as regulated by the meaning of the constructions, viewed by themselves.* Here, therefore, we are really concerned with the various kinds of connections formed between words, and their differences, as these have already been explained. And we start from the most intimate connections which are formed :—

1. The first place must be assigned to the connection of words by means of the *construct state.* This construction is the closest that can be conceived; so that it is scarcely possible for the greatest separation (*i.e.* the division into different parts of a verse; see § 97) to be carried out between words connected in this way. A *preposition* or *conjunction* is rightly regarded as the first member of a construct expression; so also, *negatives* placed before the words which they modify; *interrogatives,* too, are very closely connected with the proposition.

c. 2. The connection formed by *apposition* (see § 293) is, certainly, a close one also, though loose, not strict (as in the case of the construct state); for the first member is posited by itself, without reference to what follows: there is simply a succession, in which each word is stated separately, and co-ordinated with the other. Hence, the various kinds of apposition differ very much. Two words are easily connected; and the connection is all the more close and necessary, the less the second expresses a merely accidental property; for, הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד, זֶה הָאִישׁ will combine more closely than הָאִישׁ הַגָּדוֹל, inasmuch as, in the two former cases, the first word already points to the second and more independent word. But, when the apposition is more widely extended, the individual parts very easily separate, *e.g.* the two adjectives in *three other great men,* Gen. xli. 20, Ex. xii. 5; so that even the greatest separation may take place, through the incidental addition of something else (as, for instance, a

relative clause) to the description which is already complete in itself: thus, *three great men, who are come* (or, *who had come*).

For, unquestionably, a relative clause which defines a preceding word belongs to this category (see § 331); and the closest connection is formed between a single noun and a brief relative clause, as well as between a noun and an adjective, Isa. lv. 5, lviii. 5, 6. If, however, the connection between the words is more broken up by the fact that the relative proposition is expressly introduced by אֲשֶׁר, then the proposition to be defined becomes more and more separated.

d. A word connected by means of the copulative particle is still more readily separated, from what precedes, than a word in apposition. In certain cases, indeed, two words thus connected, as being mutually explanatory, may be joined together in the closest manner, as, נָע וָנָד, Gen. iv. 14; but the most of such connections are formed contingently, and are easily broken up again. On the other hand, when two words are connected without employing the copulative particle (see § 349), the union is always closer.

e. 3. With regard to *propositions,* the following remarks will be easily understood from what is stated in § 306 ff. The verb and the subject—or even, another predicate and subject—always follow in uniform succession. And though this connection is not so close as the two which have already been mentioned, inasmuch as the two main elements of a proposition, the predicate and the subject, may also be very easily separated, yet it is very natural, and is easily effected; in short, it is a succession which as readily allows itself to be broken through on the slightest occasion, as it is, in itself, inclined for the closest union. The same holds true with regard to the accusative, or a nominative which follows the verb or subject, as a fuller explanation. But a subject placed before the verb is much less inclined to submit to close construction: such a word, indeed, does allow itself to be intimately joined with what follows, when the series in which it occurs is of the shortest description, but it much rather prefers separation, when this is possible. A prefixed object is still less inclined for close connection. But a subject, prefixed as shown in § 306*c*, forms an exceptional case, which one can readily understand: personal pronouns, too, on account of their smallness,

[871] like to be closely joined with other words. The more definite predicate belongs, and is attached, more to the verb than the subject; cf. Mic. iv. 1 with Isa. ii. 2.

f. Let us here designate every word which does not necessarily belong to the proposition, pure and simple, an *addition* made to it,—as, for instance, a word with a preposition, an accusative of time, particles descriptive of particular circumstances. With regard to such an addition, this much, of a definite character, admits of being stated generally,—that it is, necessarily, less firmly and closely connected with the whole, and is naturally inclined for separation, whether attached at the beginning, or middle, or end of the proposition.

365*a*. II. The greatest difficulty only now arises, and this in the application of the accents to the *rhythm*. For, in the first place, those connections which are in themselves possible are found together in a proposition, generally in the most strangely diversified ways that can be imagined; so that, at almost every turn, the question arises,—what, in view of such conflicting elements, and considering the great length of the proposition in many cases, is the true, the fitting, the most graceful arrangement and succession? Secondly, since the arrangement into verses is the great regulating principle, while many short propositions are often joined together in the verse, the rhythm itself may vary in accordance with the position of a smaller whole in the greater; and the same member of the sentence may assume one form at the beginning and another at the end of the verse, or part of the verse, or even section of the verse. From all this, there arises such an immense number of special modifications of those general rules, that we can here touch merely on some of the most common and important.

b. 1. *Two* words which come together and in any way give forth a meaning, are almost always connected in accentuation also, whether they were intended as parts of an incomplete or truncated proposition, as, לֹ֣א אֲדֹנָ֑י *not* (no), *my lord!* Gen. xix. 2, or whether the arrangement was meant to be exceptional, as when the subject is placed first; cf. 2 Sam. xviii. 18, xix. 27, with xix. 10, 41. Such a connection is marked, unless the second word from the end must be made to serve as a member of the verse (see § 97*c*, ff.), because there is no other

that can be used for the purpose: in this case, the words are kept apart, always and necessarily in 1*b*, but seldom, and only when the separation is easier, in 2*c*.

c. 2. When *three* words come together, one of them is necessarily separated, more or less, from the others; for it is inconceivable that three words should have exactly the same weight, and run on in a perfectly even course. But even in the most calm and steady consecution, out of three words, two will almost always be inclined to, and attract each other, not merely in meaning, but also especially in rhythm; so that the third is, by this very circumstance, separated from the others. In the higher members, indeed, which are more rapidly gone through, such a separation, if slight, becomes less readily perceived; and even when the separation becomes somewhat more perceptible, *Pesiq* is sufficient: in the inferior members, however, the separation becomes the more precise and necessary.

When the *last* two of three words are in any way closely connected, they jointly repel the third, *a b c*, even in cases in which the *first* two are no less closely connected; for, since the end, as that which limits and embraces the whole, almost always possesses the right of final decision, the second last word, if possible, remains in its natural connection with the last. It is only when the first two are, comparatively, more closely connected than the last two, that they take a common stand against the last. This accordingly takes place (*a*) in the case of three words joined in the construct state, and even when the first is merely a preposition, or conjunction, or a particle resembling these, as, אֵת לְבַב הַמֶּלֶךְ; in the same way, even אֲשֶׁר (contrary to § 364*c*) [872] is separated, when followed by לֹא, which, however, more closely belongs to the verb, Isa. lvi. 5. Whenever the third word stands more apart, the first two are connected, as, שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר אִישׁ *twelve men.*

(*β*) On the other hand, when three words stand in apposition, the last one, as merely descriptive, will generally be separated more easily: *a b c.* But when, along with two words placed in construction, there stands a third in apposition, then the separation is made at the construct word, if the word in apposition belongs in meaning to the *second* noun; and at the second noun, if the apposition belongs to the *first* word; for,

בֶּן הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל is *the son of the great king*, but בֶּן הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל *the great* (elder, or eldest) *son of the king*. When, of three words possessing equal weight, two are without the copulative particle, while the third has it, the conjunction in any case makes the separation, as, לְכוּ שִׁבְרוּ וֶאֱכֹלוּ, Isa. lv. 1; on the other hand, we find even צָדוֹק וְאֶבְיָתָר הַכֹּהֲנִים, 2 Sam. xix. 12. Moreover, when *a* and *b* are two verbs, these combine against *c*, the subject, as in Ex. xii. 28.

(γ) The subject and predicate are disjoined, when the one or the other contains two words. And, though the verb and the subject are inclined to each other, they are nevertheless separated, whenever the subject has a complement, in the shape of a word joined by the construct state, or placed in apposition, to which it is much more closely attached [than to the verb], Gen. vii. 19, viii. 5, 13, ix. 22, xxxiv. 1, 2 Sam. xvi. 5, xix. 17; or when the verb actually embraces more than the subject which most readily suggests itself, as when שָׁאֲלוּ *they asked*, is followed by אִישׁ אֶת־רֵעֵהוּ *each the other*, Ex. xi. 2; the same holds in the case of the object, Isa. liv. 3. On the other hand, if *a b*, representing the verb and subject, be followed by the object, then the former join in common as against the latter; as also in the rare case when the subject is the third word; if, however, the subject or object comes first, then the two following words combine against the other, Isa. liv. 3. Two different objects (or—if the one forms a more definite explanation of the predicate—two different nominatives also) make their separation more clearly perceptible; *e.g.* verb, subject, then the more definite predicate, 2 Sam. xviii. 10, xix. 10, Isa. lvi. 7.

A word which forms an *addition* (see § 364*f*) is always distinctly separated, when placed among three others, of which two, in the manner described above, are more intimately connected. If it stands at the beginning or the end, it unites, by its counterpoise, the last two or the first two, if these follow in calm succession (*e.g.* at the beginning, הִנֵּה, Isa. lix. 1, 2 Sam. xviii. 10, cf. on the contrary, ver. 11, Gen. xviii. 9, at the end, מִנְּשֹׂא, Gen. iv. 13); the reverse holds true when the consecution is impassioned, יְהוָה אָמַר לִי, *a b c*. When placed in the middle, it attaches itself to the first, if the sense at all allows this; *e.g.* an adverb is attached to the verb, יָבֹא מְהֵרָה יִשְׁעֵךְ *let*

thy salvation come quickly; on the contrary, it is joined to the last, when the subject precedes, as, יְשֻׁעֵךְ מְהֵרָה יָבֹא *thy salvation shall come quickly,* Isa. lviii. 8, 2 Sam. xix. 10, 41.

d. 3. When there are four or more words, it is, in fact, but the same thing that recurs with an ever-increasing variety of arrangement. Thus, when we have four words, there are four possible ways of connecting them: $\underbrace{a\,b}\,\underbrace{c\,d}$, $a\,\underbrace{b\,c}\,d$, $\underbrace{a\,b\,c}\,d$, $a\,\underbrace{b\,c\,d}$; so that, in the last two cases, three words again, in the sense of what is stated in § 365*c*, form a member capable of being further divided. In the case of words forming an even number, the most graceful and natural arrangement is the division into two equal members; a short, feebler word, however, likes to be joined to a stronger one which precedes, as, הוּא in 2 Sam. xix. 33, עוֹד in Gen. iv. 25, vii. 4, cf. ix. 11.

If a word which does not belong to the chief matters treated of in the verse, or even some words of such a nature, be opposed to what is, however, a very suitable arrangement and division of the words of the verse, their opposition may always be easily removed by using *Maqqef, i.e.* they may easily be hurried over by pronouncing them with the greatest rapidity, cf. § 97.

e. The interruption of a discourse by the insertion of a new proposition is [873] distinctly marked; since, for instance, כִּי *for,* though regularly placed in close construction, to which it is partial (see § 364*c*), is nevertheless sharply separated from its own proposition by another which indicates comparison and is introduced by כַּאֲשֶׁר *as,* Isa. lv. 10. But so little does the biblical accentuation resemble our punctuation, which is so meagre and at the same time so paltry, that it indicates the impassioned exclamation or emphasis connected with a word in the proposition by employing, at most, a *Pesiq,* in addition to the succession of accents, which are otherwise necessary of themselves, as, אַבְרָהָם | אַבְרָהָם, Gen. xxii. 11; and, at the point where the statement that is quoted begins, it very properly does not form a great division in the verse, as if the reader were so shortsighted as not to perceive that, as has just been stated, an address here follows. It is only when a longer introduction precedes, as with the expressly inserted לֵאמֹר *saying,* that a longer section is formed, Deut. i. 16, 2 Sam. xix. 10.

366. By further consideration and investigation in this way, there will always be found a beautiful harmony between the accentuation and the syntax, so that each may afford explanation and support to the other. Whether we start with the syntax, and come to understand it without knowing anything yet of the accentuation (as the author once actually did), or proceed from the latter to the former, accurate investigation will always lead to the same result, so that he who has a correct understanding of the syntax, has already nearly mastered the accentuation also, and he who understands the latter will always find himself more easily at home in the former. But this is, at the same time, the highest praise that can be given to the accentuation.

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